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THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN
THE MAHRATTAS AND THE MOGHULS.

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BY

MUKUND WAMANRAO BURWAY, B.A.

Judge Small Causes Court,

INDORE.

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DEDICATED

TO THE REVERED MEMORY OF

H. H. THE LATE

Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar II.

G.C.S.I., C.I.E., Counsellor of the Queen Empress,

THE LATE

Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade

M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.

AND

THE LATE

Mr. Justice K. T. Telang

M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.

As a token of Admiration and Gratitude

By The Author,

M. W. BURWAY.

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PREFACE.

The present work was formerly published in 1902 under the title of "Introduction to the History of Gwalior," and several English and Indian scholars spoke well of it. Some gentlemen* suggested that the work may well be published independently and that to make it serve as an Introduction was little short of lessening its worth. The suggestion had a strong force in it and I accepted it heartily. I again place the work in an enlarged and modified form before the public. The cordial reception, which was extended to my "Life of Rao Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao" by the People and Princes of India and by eminent British Officers, encourages me to hope that the present publication may also be worthy of their generous kindness.

In publishing this work, it is my aim to put before the public a brief histori-

* Dr. Y. G. Apte, B.A., L.M.&S., was the first to make this kind suggestion.

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cal survey of the Mahratta Empire, from the time of its foundation to its fall, based not only on the standard works of History but also on the new material that is seeing the light of the day, through the exertions of Professor Rajwade and Rao Bahadur Parasnis. I rejoice to find that the kind suggestion of Sir Narayan Rao Chandawarkar and Dr. Y. G. Apte has been carried out to some extent at least. Heavy work in Court, however, precludes the possibility of my undertaking the publication of the Mahratta History as mentioned in the Preface to the 'Life of Raja Sir Dinkar Rao.'*

(*) Sir Narayan Rao wrote to me as follows in this connection :—

Pedder Road, Bombay,
Dated the 12th April, 1909.

Dear Mr. Burway,

I have duly received a copy of your "Life of Raja Sir Dinkar Rao" which you have kindly sent, and I have read it through with much pleasure and interest. I appreciate the labour you have bestowed on the subject and trust your Mahratta History will soon be published and will prove a very useful production.

Yours sincerely,
Sd. N. G. Chandawarkar.

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In the appendix B of this work, I have tried to point out how unfounded is the belief of those writers, who say that the Mahratta Empire found its grave in the battle of Panipat of 1761.

The present writer hopes that a perusal of these pages would well serve to show how groundless is the assertion made by some historians to the effect that the Mahratta Empire is a misnomer. The said assertion is also contradicted by the semi-official words of Mr. J. Talboys Wheeler, the author of "The History of the Imperial assemblage at Delhi (1877)." Mr. J. T. Wheeler says on page 4: "The history of India before the advent of the British power tells of the rise and fall of three great Empires,—the Rajput, the Mahomedan, and the Mahratta. Each in turn was a paramount power. Each in turn was broken up into small kingdoms, which became feudatory states of a new Empire.....".

I beg to express my sincere thanks to my revered father, the late Rao Bahadur

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Wamanrao Tatya Burway, Sir Narayan Rao Chandavarkar, Kt., the Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood, C.I.E., I.C.S., and Major Luard M.A., for their kind suggestions and support. I heartily thank Mr. Anant Ganesh Sathaye M.A., LL.B., of the Bombay High Court, for all the troubles he has so kindly taken. My cordial thanks are also due to Mr. S. M. Bapna, B.A., LL.B., F.SC., and Mr. D. V. Kirtane, Barrister-at-law, for their kind help in this work and to Mr. T. H. Morony for the loan of several valuable books.

In conclusion, I pray Parmeshwar for the prosperity of the Indian people and Princes under the happy Rule of Britain and trust that the Hindu and Mahomedan Communities will profit by the perusal of the noble deeds of wisdom of Shivaji and Akbar and the blunders of Aurangzebe.*

* Mr. Ismailjee, of the Indore Bar, informs me that the Guru of the Bohora community named Sayad Kutubudin of Ahmedabad was killed with seven hundred Bohora followers by the orders of Aurangzeb. The Guru was a Shiah and Aurangzebe a Sunni.

INDORE.
1st March 1914.

M. W. Burway.

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THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE MAHRATHAS AND THE MOGHULS.

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The "immortal" * Sivaji, the defender of the Hindu religion and the inspired leader of the Maratha Nation, was the founder of a kingdom—the nucleus of Maratha power and influence—which afterwards developed into the Maratha empire and sapped the foundations of the Moghul power. This state is worthy of attention more for the ways in which its foundation was laid than for its extensive area. Small though that kingdom was comparatively in the beginning, it was, on account of the forces then operating, destined to play such an important part in the annals of India that its political significance is entitled to serious consideration for all time to come. In the teeth of stubborn opposition of the 'bigoted' Aurangzib and the religious persecution inaugurated under

* Kolhapore Speech of H. E. Lord Harris.

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the auspices of the same monarch, the great Sivaji founded a kingdom, which under the heroic Bajirao and the great Madhaorao Ballal, ripened into a mighty empire and witnessed the full realisation of the hope of subverting the Moghul power, so sanguinely entertained by the illustrious founder of the Maratha power and leader of the Maratha nation. Sivaji's indomitable* energy and untiring exertions had been eminently successful even during his own life-time, but the complete attainment of the object, he aimed at, was deferred to a period, of which we shall have to speak later on. Opposed to an intolerant emperor like the misguided Aurangzib, and surrounded on all sides by the countless hosts of that fanatic emperor, the Maratha hero had to face dangers and overcome difficulties unprecedented in the annals of the Indian

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* See Mr. H. A. Acworth's admirable introduction to his "Ballads of the Marathas" rendered into English verse. Mr. Acworth's Ballads have done a great deal in encouraging the study of the Mahratta History.

nation. In the limited space of this work it is impossible to do full justice to all the wonderful coups that the great Sivaji had resort to, and the dangerous adventures that he undertook with equally wonderful success in spite of the vigilance of Aurangzib whose fatal zeal in the propagation of Islam led that impolitic monarch to persecute the Hindus with every refinement of severity and cruelty.* Suffice it to say that the spirit, which the deliverer of the Hindu race then awakened in Maharastra and the deeds of valour that he performed during his short but supremely successful career, entitle him to the position assigned to him by the popular belief that he was an Avatār (incarnation of Siva).

Before we return to the discussion of the course of events in Maharastra, the land where the Mahomedans met with an unbending resistance owing to the existence and operation of forces moral and

* Auranzib's policy was diametrically opposed to that pursued by the great Akbar. See Madhorao Scindia by the Hon'ble Mr. V. R. Natu, Pleader at Belgaum.

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political which will be taken notice of in their proper places, it will be of some advantage to pass in review the times of Akbar, whose organisation had welded an empire out of heterogenous elements with marvellous success, and also of those of his successors, one of whom, *viz.*, Aurangzib undid the noble work of his illustrious great-grand-father.

Akbar was certainly one of the greatest monarchs of the world and the most famous and foresighted of all the Moghul emperors. During his long and eventful reign it was always his aim to subdue all Moslem prejudices against the Hindus, who formed the bulk of the population and whose sympathy and support were, therefore, imperatively essential for the peace and safety of his empire. Though born of Mahomedan parents, Akbar was at heart undoubtedly more a Hindu than a Moslem. His disregard of the rigid tenets of the Islamic religion, his worship of the sun as the most glorious manifestation of

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the Deity, his reverence for learned Pandits and pious Brahmans from Benares, his respect for time-honoured Hindu institutions, his non-Mahomedan spirit of tolerance,* in fact his Catholic sympathies conclusively show that Akbar was anything but an orthodox Mahomedan. Such an emperor, Mahomedan as he was, was best fitted for drawing the Hindu hearts towards him and laying the foundation of an empire, which lasted for a long time after his death inspite of the political blunders, the apathy and the incompetency of his successors. Toleration was Akbar's watchword, and toleration is the greatest safeguard of extensive dominions. By the pursuit of such a praiseworthy line of

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* 'Akbar is well-known as one of the greatest lovers of Justice.' The story regarding the "cow and bell" is well known.

The non-Mahomedan spirit spoken of here relates to the time of Auraugzib of course, and has no reference to the present times, when it is not possible for one community to be intolerant of the faith and prejudices of another; under the benign rule of Britain such a spirit is dying out.

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conduct, Akbar succeeded in turning the proud and powerful Rajput Princes (who were his opponents before) into staunch supporters of his throne and it was chiefly owing to the Rajput support that Akbar achieved glorious successes which generally characterised his long and happy reign.

Jehangir professed to be a true Moslem but his sympathy with the Hindu interests was almost as great as that of his great father. Truly speaking Jehangir, the offspring of a union with Rajput princess, was seldom known to have made his conduct consistent with the tenets of Islam.* During his regime he did little to undo or upset the work of Akbar, and the spirit of intolerance so characteristic of Islam, was never allowed to rise and influence his policy.

* "In short, wherever Islam has reigned supreme it has always exhibited, with insignificant exceptions and variations, the same features which it wears in Turkey, brutal lust, love of cruelty for cruelty's sake, insolent intolerance and cynical contempt for the elementary rights of humanity"——Canon Macoll. This description

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Shah Jehan succeeded Jehangir in 1628. It was in this reign that a "tinge of intolerance" began to colour the dealings and deliberations of the Delhi Court. This disastrous innovation, which was conspicuous by its absence during the rule of the two former monarchs, was perchance more the outcome of the Court intrigues than a result of the good emperor Shah Jehan's deliberate policy. In spite of the entrance of this evil in the political arena at Delhi, Shah Jehan's reign was marked by predominent good-will and liberality towards all of his subjects without any distinction of caste, creed or colour. Hindu writers vied with their Mahomedan contemporaries in extolling the merits of this excellent Shah.

In the year 1657 Shah Jehan was reported to be ill unto death. This was a seasonable time for the fructification of the ambitious designs of the great dissembler,

applies more to the reign of Aurangzib than to that of any other successor of Akbar. Personally Aurangzib however, was free from the first mentioned vice.

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Aurangzib,—the jailer of his father and murderer of his brothers. After imprisoning his father Shah Jehan in the Agra for and vanquishing his brothers by various stratagems, the cunning Puritan formally ascended the imperial throne on the 26th of May 1657. 'It was', says Mr. Lane-Poole, 'the tradition of the Moghul Monarchy that the eyes of the dying father should witness the rebellion of the son.' This was true now, as it was in the case of Akbar and Jehangir. It was during this monarch's reign that the 'tinge of intolerance' which made its appearance at Delhi during the last reign, grew into a systematic and relentless persecution of the Hindus and thereby the noble work of the great Akbar was undone in the real sense of the word.* It is with the reign of Aurangzib that we are closely connected while dealing with the history of the life and times of Sivaji and making an estimate of the work done by the illustrious leader of

* See Tennyson's 'Akbar's Dream.' The following lines from that poem may be interesting to the reader:

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the Marathas. Before attempting to see how Sivaji baffled Aurangzib in his fiendish acts of oppression let us turn to the unpleasant task of surveying the extent of the religious persecution and of seeing how it was begun and carried on by the short-sighted emperor in all parts of Hindustan. When this is done, most assuredly the task of fully realising the bold and undaunted career of conquest on which the Marathas had embarked under the guidance of the great Sivaji, would greatly be facilitated.

In 1668, the powerful Maharajah of Jeypore, the celebrated Jeysing,* died. This illustrious Prince, who was a pillar

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"Me too the black winged overcame; Azrael
But death has eyes and years; I watched my son,
And those that followed loosen stone by stone
All my fair work....."

See also Mr. Lane-Poole's estimate of Aurangzib's work—Hunter's Rulers of India Series.

* The great Jeysing built observatories and encouraged literature and science in various other ways. The present beautiful city of Jeypore also owes its existence to this noble-hearted king.

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of the Moghul State, had greatly influenced the deliberations of the court of Delhi even during the rule of the bigoted Aurangzib. His fame, as a lover and patron of literature, arts and sciences, as well as his skill and valour on the field of battle are too well-known to suffer any abatement by the lapse of time. Equally powerful and brave, though far less renowned for his love and encouragement of learning, was Jaswant Sing, the Maharajah of Marwar (Jodhpore) and Governor of the Cabul province. The death of this Prince occurred almost simultaneously with that of the famous founder of the present city of Jeypore. The absence of these two powerful Hindu monarchs from the Delhi court greatly weakened the Hindu party in Hindustan. Their combined strength was such that it could overawe even a fanatical tendency of the emperor. After the death of these two Princes, Aurangzib found a golden opportunity of gratifying to his heart's content his desire of oppressing the Hindus, simply because they professed a

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faith different from that of Islam. The reign of terror commenced soon after this and the Emperor was alleged to have embarked upon such a disastrous policy, with the object of subduing the Hindu spirit and compelling them to be converts* to Mahomedanism. The zealous advocate of the faith of Islam and the aspirer after the foundation of a thoroughly Mahomedan empire in India, commenced his career of religious conquest by inflicting severe punishments upon some of the Brahmins of the holy city of Benares, the chief centre of Hinduism. This took place in 1669. The pretext for such an

* "The sword of Mahomed and the Kuran are the most stubborn enemies of civilization, liberty and truth which the world has yet known"—Sir William Muir's Life of Mahomed. Several Rajputs were converted to Mahomedanism by force. These Rajputs still call themselves Rajput Mahomedans. Risaldar Major Murad Ali Khan is one of these Rajput Mahomedans. Several Rajput Mahomedans are now allowed to follow the faith of their Hindu forefathers and this is due to the exertions of the followers of Dayanand Saraswati—a name not so much revered in Maharastra as in the upper provinces.

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unjustifiable and indefensible conduct on the part of Aurangzib was that these Brahmins were reported to be in the habit of teaching their 'wicked sciences' even to the Moslems. This information was sufficient to call down the wrath of the emperor upon the whole of the Hindu population. Severe measures were adopted for the prohibition of the course the Brahmins were reported to be pursuing, and the welcome opportunity was also availed of for demolishing many a Hindu temple. Strict orders were at once issued whereby the 'Director of the faith' communicated his desire to all the Governors of the provinces to destroy the schools and temples of the infidels. The Governors were further directed to put an entire stop to the teaching and observance of idolatrous forms of worship.

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* The author begs to say that he has made these observations simply to do historical justice. He has, however, many friends in the Mahomedan community and his good faith in making these statements can never be doubted.

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This persecution, the result of the repressive policy which the bigoted emperor had now begun to pursue in his dealings with the Hindus, was extended to Rajputana, the Punjab and the Dekkan also. For obvious reasons the tyrant's hand was forcibly curbed in these parts of the country. The proud Rajputs, the valiant Punjabis and the warlike Marathas were more or less prepared to successfully resist the encroachments on their sacred rights and privileges. But the other parts of India were doomed to fall an easy prey to this persecution. Aurangzib first directed his attention to Rajputana, where, as we have already mentioned, the death of the famous Jeysing as well as of Jaswantsing had particularly weakened the Rajput clans, and thus allowed an opportunity to the emperor to interfere in the private affairs of the most ancient princely dynasties of the world. It was also reported at

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See Tod's Rajasthan—an excellent work that truly portrays the Rajput chivalry and other virtues

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this time that Aurangzib desired to convert the two sons of Jaswantsing to Islam —a desire which was not only never gratified but which went a long way to alienate the Rajputs, once the staunch supporters of the Moghul throne, but henceforth the irreconcilable and inveterate antagonists of the Mahomedan rulers of Delhi. The imposition of the Zizia added fuel to the fire. The Rajput indignation, kindled by the unstatesmanlike conduct of Aurangzib, threatened to burst into fearful and destructive flames, and consume the Moghul power and influence, in the Rajput country at least.*

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in a markedly just and appreciative way. The following extract will be interesting to the reader. Rajasthan exhibits the sole example, in the history of mankind, of a people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict or human nature sustain, from a foe, *whose religion commands annihilation*, and bent to the earth yet rising buoyant from the pressure and making calamity whetstone to courage.

The story as to how the two sons escaped conversion to the Islamic faith is worth telling—See Elphinstone's History.

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In the Punjab, the spiritual teacher of the Sikhs, Govindsing, had to mourn his father's death brought about with great cruelty and torture to—the victim by the orders of the bigoted emperor. But Govindsing's* misfortunes were not to end with his father's death. The two sons of the Sikh Guru were buried alive at Sirhind in a most cruel manner by the order of the emperor, who, while thus busily engaged in extirpating the race of the infidels, was sapping the foundations of his power, and of the Moslem empire in India. Undaunted by these mishaps, the illustrious Govindsing whose teachings were directed as much towards the attainment of political objects as ethical excellence, continued his work zealously in exciting the minds

* "Govind came to the Deccan with his followers. He died at Naderh on the river Godaveri, so sacred to the Hindus, in 1708 at the comparatively early age of 48. It is believed that the sword of a cruel fanatic, an Afghan, put an end to the valuable life of Guru Goviudsing. The place, where the revered Guru died, is known as Abchalnagar, *i.e.*, the town of departure."—Griffin's Life of Ranjitsing.

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of his followers against the Mahomedan persecutor, whose illegal encroachments proved a great barrier to the proper observance and performance of their religious duties. This great preceptor of the Sikhs accomplished, to some extent, what the saintly poets of Maharastra completely succeeded in achieving through the instrumentality of their writings and teaching in the Deccan. In Govindsing's writings, one of the prominent objects of which was to turn the Sikhs into a militant power against the Moslem oppressors, the Mahomedans were held as specially* accursed and war with them was as strictly enjoined as was

* See Lepel Griffin's Life of Ranjitsing, Rulers of India Series. Sir Lepel does not seem to be quite correct when he says that Govindsing's writings aimed more towards political objects than ethical excellence. The fact seems to be that though owing to dire necessity Govind suited his teachings to the times, yet his writings give ample proof that he aimed, at least as much towards ethical excellence as politcal objects. Govindsing himself is considerd to have led the life of a saint. In fact his later career was entirely devoted to the 'service' and contemplation of the Supreme Being. His teachings verge on pure Vedantism.

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done by the celebrated sage and illustrious preceptor of the great Sivaji, Shri Ramdas Swami. What is still more noteworthy is that according to the sacred scriptures of the Sikh Gurus no quarter was, under any circumstances, to be given to the Mahomedans. The minds of the people of the Punjab were, in this manner, prepared by their Gurus for uniting together for one common effort to free themselves from the iron yoke of the Mahomedan rule, which, though bearable under Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan, had now reached the extreme limit of inequity.

From what has been said in the preceding paragraphs, the reader will be able to know that the Hindus had been persecuted in various ways in every part of Upper India. But still more severe hardships were yet in store for them. Before turning to

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The works of Native poets, of those times—especially, of the celebrated Bhukan—give a life-like picture of the horrors, devastations and atrocities that then prevailed everywhere. We will try to present to our readers some of Bhukan's views on this subject later on.

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notice Aurangzib's feats in the Deccan, it will be advantageous to see how that short-sighted monarch roused the Hindu population by devising fresh methods of oppression. At no distant date, Aurangzib gave his sanction most willingly to the perpetration of an act, which gave the greatest possible offence to the professors of the Hindu faith and consigned the name of the tyrant to ever-lasting infamy. Benares, which is as sacred to the Hindus as Jerusalem is to the Christians and Mekka to the Mahomedans, was to witness the most terrible and exasperating scenes, which owed their origin to the religious over-zeal of the imprudent Emperor. According to his judgment, no Hindu institution, howsoever sacred and time-honoured it may be to the followers of the faith, was worthy of any regard or respect. His fanaticism prevented him from considering the fact that a tyrant could not be a successful ruler and that his conduct at that time was detrimental to his own political greatness. Without any scruples what-

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ever this emperor issued orders that the most splendid shrine of Kasi Visweshwar, a more sacred temple than which there is none in India according to the general consensus of Hindu opinion, should be razed to the ground and on that site, a mosque should be built.* The Hindu saints in Benares were loud in their denunciation of the horrible deed. They indignantly protested against the perpetration of such an unfeeling relentless act and openly cursed the emperor, emphasizing the curses by a prophecy that the rule of the 'Chandalas' would soon terminate. In fact the demolition of this most sacred Hindu Temple was the climax of the bigoted emperor's infamy and imprudence. Previous to the destruction of this temple, not less than three hundred temples had been levelled to the ground but the Hindus felt most aggrieved at the defilement of their principal shrine—the chief centre of their devotion. We can not adequately describe

* See "Life and Times of Madhorao Sindia" and Elliot's "History of India."

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the extent of indignation which the Hindus must have felt at the time; but we can know and even measure its amount by the hatred, abhorrence and opposition which then characterised the behaviour of the Hindus towards the Moslems.* Yet, one other and more heart-rending scene was to take place at Mathura, a place frequently visited by Hindu pilgrims from the farthest corners of this country. A most magnificent temple was completely demolished and a mosque was built upon its site. But the emperor was not satisfied with the mere destruction of the temple. He ordered that the idols found in the temple after its demolition should be sent to Agra and buried under the steps of the mosque, so that good Moslems might have

* Under the benign rule of Britain, the Hindus and Mahomedans have happily learnt to live in peace and amity with one another. Education and advance of civilization have gone a great way in removing many dangerous tendencies. The two communities are now bound together by many ties of friendship and it is hoped that in times to come greater cordiality and better feelings will prevail in their behaviour towards one another.

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the satisfaction of treading them under foot.* This incident sent through the whole Hindu population a thrill of horror and roused their bitter hatred against the opponent of their faith. This crowning act of infamy and imprudence was not unattended with very grave consequences. The Hindus, like a hard pursued stag, turned to bay and began to defy the tyrant.

The systematic persecution, so zealously carried on by Aurangzib, produced serious results. It served to turn the "mild" Hindu into a desperate antagonist of the Mahomedan empire, an antagonist, burning with a desire of vengeance and bent on paying the persecutor in his own coin.

* It is impossible even to imagine a greater insult to the Hindu religion. In these days when education has done much to subdue fanaticism and race hatred, the accounts of such horrible occurrence raise only a smile and pity for the poor courtiers of the bigoted Aurangzib. The author of these pages is happy to relate that many educated Mahomedans express their strong abhorrence of such an unpardonable insult to the Hindu faith.

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The Hindus broke out into open rebellion, desecrated and razed several mosques to the ground, and indignantly defied the authority of the Moghul. The Rajputs severed for ever their connection with the Moghul throne and began to harass Aurangzib in every way. The Satnamis raised an insurrection which gradually assumed a formidable aspect. This was an unmistakable indication of the popular discontent and disaffection then prevailing in Hindustan. On every side there were visible signs of a public rising—a rising that was to shake the Moghul throne to its very foundation—a rising that was ready to overwhelm and upset it in the near future.

We have carried our readers through these unpleasant details regarding the barbarous acts of Aurangzib in order that they may fully understand how the Hindus

* Even Mahomedan writers, the contemporaries of Aurangzib, do not seem to have had a high opinion of Aurangzib as a ruler of the people. The verdict of the Mahomedan historians regarding Aurangzib's life and work would be found in the following pages.

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of Northern India had been excited by these unmitigated and unequalled outrages on their faith. Doubtless, the Mahratta Hindus in the Deccan must have been influenced, to some extent at least, by the excitement that prevailed in those parts that lie to the north of the Nerbada. Maharastra, however, did not allow such a free scope to the persecuting tendencies of Aurangzib as the emperor enjoyed in the other parts of India.

We turn now to the Deccan with a view to ascertain how the country of the Marathas—the very people, who baffled the bigoted emperor's ignoble hopes and aspirations and ultimately eradicated the cause of all religious persecution— fared during this period, *i. e.*, 1669 and 1670. Sivaji,* the deliverer of the Hindu race, who was born in the fort of Shivaneri in 1627, was now close upon the 43rd year

* The "Bukhana Hazura," the immortal work of the celebrated Hindustani poet describes Sivaji's exploits in a glowing and graphic style. Some extracts from

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of his life. For the last 6 years he had coped successfully with the stubborn opposition of the Generals of Aurangzib. To this invading army the hope of success was as distant as it had been before the commencement of the invasion. Sivaji's exploits and adventures, during this period, are narrated in many a work. We have, however, to do less with them here than with the investigation of the causes that served to make Sivaji's career a supremely successful one. The various forces that had been working in Maharastra at that time, and that influenced his early life and moulded his subsequent career, deserve our attention in the limited space at our disposal more than a description of his deeds of valour, because Sivaji, the creator of the Maratha

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this great work have been translated and added to this Introduction but it is impossible to produce by translation that impression which a perusal of the original work creates on the minds of those that understand the Hindustani language. See the 'life of Shree Ramdas Swami' recently published by a Guzerathi gentleman.

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nation and founder of the Maratha empire, was, to a great extent, the result of these forces.

Sivaji's early training was entrusted to Dadoji Konddeo, a thoroughly orthodox Brahmin, well versed in Pauranic lore and consequently eminently qualified for the purpose of kindling in his illustrious pupil's mind a deep-rooted love for the Hindu religion as well as for hazardous adventures in imitation of the heroes of the Pauranic period. In fact, Sivaji was as zealous an advocate of Hinduism as Aurangzib was of Islam. But the ways in which they conducted themselves, differed as widely from one another as does the North Pole from the South Pole. A spirit of tolerance and a compassionate heart, the special characteristics of a Hindu, formed the prominent features of Sivaji's character, while extreme intolerance and a desire for persecuting the race

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of the infidels* were the principal elements in Aurangzib's character. To this difference in their ways of behaviour may be traced the success of Sivaji, the deliverer of the Hindus, and the failure of Aurangzib, the persecutor of the Hindus. Still greater light will be thrown on this subject by the judgment, which two foreign and consequently more disinterested writers delivered while discussing the respective worths of Sivaji and Aurangzib. "Religion was" says Mr. H. A. Acworth in his admirable introduction to the Maratha Ballads, "a dominant feature in both but in Aurangzib it was degraded into the pettiest, narrowest and most malignant bigotry." 'Sivaji seized caravans and convoys and appropriated their treasure, but he permitted no sacrilege to mosque and no dishonouring of

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* Everyone, who is not a Moslem, is liable to be called an 'infidel.' In the Afgan war of 1881, Risaldar-Major Sirdar Gopalsing Bahadur was present in an important action near Kandahar. He told the writer of these pages that the Afgans called the English 'Kafirs (the 'infidels'). See also Grant Duff, and Elphinstone.

women. If a Koran were taken, he gave it reverently to some Mahomedan. If women were captured, he protected them till they were ransomed. There was nothing of the libertine or the brutal about Sivaji."* Thus did they differ in their respective characters and their religious views, which greatly swayed their careers—Sivaji the founder of the Maratha power and Aurangzib the destroyer of the Mahomedan influence and empire.

Shivaji's enthusiastic and ardent love for his religion and his strict morality are proverbial indeed. They were the outcome of the early influences due to the instructions of the royal preceptor.† But Dadoji Konddeo's advice was not the only force that swayed Sivaji's conduct.

* Sivaji's private life was never stained by sensuality and equally spotless was his public career, though dire necessity compelled him to undertake some measures simply for self defence, which are sometimes considered questionable in certain quarters, though, in fact, there exists not the least ground for doing so. European Authors have also praised his supremely virtuous private life.

† Sivaji's early training was entrusted to Dadoji Konddeo, who at first disliked his pupil's dangerous

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The great Maratha leader was also greatly influenced by the spirit of the age, which was the result of the forces called into existence by the saints and poets that did directly as well as indirectly an invaluable service to the cause of the entire Hindu population by their writings and preachings. Sivaji's love for the Hindu religion meant in other words his bitter hatred of those that persecuted and oppressed his co-religionists and thus obstructed the observance of the rules and the performance of the rites and ordinances enjoined by the Hindu scriptures. With his growth, Sivaji's zeal in the advocacy of the cause of his co-religionists and his hatred for the Mahomedans, rapidly grew and strengthened. His listening to the

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conduct. The advice given by the royal preceptor on his death-bed is worthy of note. Before his death, Dadoji advised Sivaji to prosecute his plans of independence; to protect Brahmins, kine and cultivators; to preserve the temples of the Hindu from violation; and to follow the fortune which lay before him. See Grant Duff, p. 111-213 Vol. I. and the Life of Dadoji Konddeo by Mr. N. V. Bapat of Baroda.

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native ballads and tales of adventure, as well as his keen interest in the Kathas, which were conducted by some of the most renowned saintly poets of Maharastra, went a long way to create in him a desire which was as strong as it was righteous, for undertaking the subversion of a power, whose ceaseless endeavours were directed towards the destruction of everything that was sacred and dear to the Hindus. The nature of the country and the character of the people who joined his standard, helped Sivaji greatly in the attainment of his object. The Mawlees, the followers of the Maratta leader, were strong, hardy and deeply attached to their master, who had been driven or rather roused to undertake the gigantic task of opposing the Moghuls—a task which was fraught with great difficulties in the beginning but which was attended with equally great successes in the end. The series of

* An account of these worthy saintly poets would be found by the English readers in Mr. H. Acworth's Introduction to the Ballads of the Marathas.

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successes which Sivaji obtained during his raids against the Moghuls, served to make him the idol of his people as well as to attract the attention of others, who began to look upon him as a deliverer of the Hindus from the iron yoke of the Moghul persecutor, whose unbearable oppression in Maharastra as well as in other parts of India had compelled the people of Hindustan to turn to the consideration of the grand political problem, 'how to escape the unnatural tyranny of the bigoted Moghul'. The Punjabis and the Rajputs, the martial races of Northern India, did what they could in solving this great question, but only with partial success. Providence ordained that the Marathas alone should be able to grapple successfully with the solution of this mighty problem.

In the times, in which Sivaji was born, the country of the Marathas was witnessing a religious revival, the result of the exertions of a succession of saints

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and poets, whose hold on the minds of the Marathas was unbounded, which it is even difficult to be imagined in these days when religious bonds are being broken asunder. The writings and preachings of the saintly poets had roused the minds of the Marathas from their religious dormancy and directed them to an enthusiastic regard for their religion. This religious revival served greatly to join together the hearts of the Marathas and thus bring about a union among them, which, innocent as it was in the beginning, became really dangerous to the power of the Moghul tyrant, who was compelled at last to bend his knee before it and to suffer mortifying defeats inflicted by a people, from whom he expected little or no

*Many of these saintly poets, *e. g.*, Tukaram and others, were entirely given to the teaching of devotional and ethical greatness. But some like Ramdas, though ardent religious preachers, devoted some of their time in advocating a crusade against the Moslems who perscuted the 'mild' Hindus with no sparing hand. However, both the classes of preachers produced a great change in the thoughts of the Deccan Hindus.

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resistance worth the name. The religious sermons preached by these saints to their large audiences, were indirectly instrumental to turning the minds of the people against the Moghuls, who, Koran in one hand and sword in the other, marched from province to province, carrying on their religious propaganda. The augmented religious zeal of the Marathas, now united with a sense of common danger and sustained and supported by the still more efficacious influence and advice of their religious preceptors, began gradually to make head against the enemies of their religion and their race.

Of the Mahratta Saints, * of whose invaluable services in the awakening and

* To the Mahratta History a peculiar charm has been added by the part which such celebrated saints as Dnyandew, Aikanath, Tukaram, Ramdas and others had taken in rousing the Mahratta minds from a state of religious torpour and directing them to an enthusiastic observance of the Hindu religion. How the religious revival led to the consequent political revival and territorial greatness may be gathered from a perusal of these pages.

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development of the national spirit among the Mahrattas we have already made a passing mention, Shri Ramdas Swami was most intimately connected with the founder of the Mahratta Empire. Ramdas,* considered to be an avatar of Hanuman come down solely for the purpose of assisting Sivaji in the deliverance of the Hindu race, has played the most important part in moulding the character of the Mahratta hero and in influencing his career. This illustrious Sadhoo openly preached a war against the Moghuls and his weighty words were

* Ramdas is said to have met the Guru of the Sikhs, and in their conversation it is said that the great Mahratta Saint enlightened the Sikh Guru on many points of higher metaphysics. The doubts, which troubled his mind, were dispelled after he had met Ramdas. But Ramdas was not the only Mahratta Saint who influenced the Sikh Guru's teachings. "The earliest composers whose writings are included in the Granth are two Mahratta poets, Namdev and Trilochan, whose peculiar dialects, akin to the modern Marathi (language) in many of its forms, prove their birth-place to have been in the Deccan."

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not to be in vain. He enjoyed the greatest reverence and confidence of Sivaji, who invariably consulted the sage before undertaking any serious work. Sivaji even offered the Mahratta Kingdom as a charity to his spiritual teacher but being commanded to rule over the state in the name of his Guru, he adopted the ascetic's orange-coloured banner as a sign that the kingdom belonged to an ascetic. Ramdas surpassed all his predecessors in the vehemence of his attack on the tyrannical nature of the Moslem Government, and openly advised the large multitude of people that came to hear his sermons * "to fall upon the Mahomedans, drive them from this land, and spread the Mahratta dominion all over the country." It is needless to say more as to the effect which such stirring sermons must have produced on the

* See Life of "the Great Baji Rao" by N. Y. Bapat. It would be interesting to notice that such eminent men as General W. Tweedie, C. S. I., entertain very high opinion about the Great Baji Rao and his work. See later on.

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minds of the innumerable disciples and followers of this well-known sage, who had, it is said, established his title to more than ordinary respect from his audience by working several miracles in the presence of large gatherings of people.

Before completing our remarks about the works of the Mahratta saints, it is necessary to allude cursorily to the influence of these repeated exhortations, for this influence on the minds of the Mahrattas can never be ignored by the student of the Mahratta History. In the present work nothing more than a mere mention of this fact is possible. *Suffice it to say

* The writer of these pages begs to say that almost all the severe remarks made in this work apply more or less to the blind bigotry and the spirit of intoleration which was rampant in the reign of Aurangzib, whose perverted views about religion were the source of the greatest persecution of the Hindus in every part of India. It need hardly be mentioned that the author has no bias against the Indian Mahomedans of the present day, for he has the honour of khowing several Mahomedans of great literary eminence who strongly condemn Aurangzib's misguided policy. The benign rule of Britain has produced a friendly tie between the two communities.

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that the religious upheaval and the consequent national revival which directly and indirectly was brought about by their writings and preachings was so powerful that it not only checked the Islamic persecution inaugurated under the auspices of the great advocate of the Mahomedan Faith,—though, in fact, Aurangzib proved in the end to be the worst enemy of the Mahomedan Empire, nay its veritable destroyer —but it ultimately extirpated the power that had been the source of so much trouble to the proverbially "mild" Hindu race. The sins of the Deccan Hindus, before they attained a state of the greatest political significance, were washed away by the holy waves of blessings received from the successive Mahatmas and consequently their Great Country (Maharashtra) was destined to witness, at no distant date, the dawn of happier days fraught with political and territorial greatness, which suffered no abatement for about 150 years in spite of unforeseen dangers and untoward mishaps.

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Day by day Sivaji's power increased. Brahmans and Sudras flocked to his standard and augmented his strength by lending their willing aid to the great hero in the noble work of resisting the career of Moslem oppression. Bijapore felt the rise of the power of Sivaji, resented his encroachments but was, at last, compelled to keep on friendly terms with the Mahratta leader by a grant of Chouth and other privileges. At an early date the Moghul Myrmidons, who came to the south to fulfil Aurangzib's ambition of establishing the Moghul power in the Deccan at the expense of Bijapore and Golconda, had to face the danger that arose with the rise of the Mahratta hero, and seemed gradually to acquire a strength sufficient to engulf the Moslem power. It would be beyond the scope of the present work to describe all the deeds of prowess, wonderful and stirring as they are, performed by Sivaji during the wars with the Moslems. Success had made the Mahrattas so bold and daring that

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they carried off the imperial elephants within the pale of the cantonments, and even shut the Moghul Generals up in their own trenches, so that not a single person could come out of the camp without risking his life.

Such was the state of the Moghul operations against the Mahrattas, when the celebrated Jeysing of Jeypore and Dillerkhan were entrusted with the command of the Deccan forces of the Moghuls, employed against the Mahrattas. The divided command of the Moghul army led to half-hearted and desultory operations, but success graced Jeysing's amiable and conciliatory policy and Sivaji was prevailed upon to pay a visit to the emperor at Delhi, where the hero of the Mahrattas made the astounding demand of the Viceroyalty of the Deccan —a demand which produced an unexpected effect in spite of its justice and propriety. Aurangzib openly insulted the pride of the great Mahratta, who through Jeysing's persuasion had condes-

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cended to stand as an applicant for the Deccan Viceroyalty. Aurangzib's imprudence and want of diplomacy prevented the blind bigot from availing himself of such an opportunity by securing the good will of a Mahratta like Sivaji. But such a thing was not to take place. Sivaji was coldly received and his demand was rejected with disdain. To the Moghuls this was really a disaster. What an unbounded accession of strength would have been obtained by the Moghuls, if the Viceroyalty had been conferred on the great Sivaji? But the advantage of the Moghuls would perchance have been the ruin of the great Hindu cause. Fate ordained that the hàlf-clad and half-fed Mahrattas should trample the luxurious and lace-covered Moghuls under their feet as a retaliation for the countless wrongs done to them and their brethren. Sivaji's disappointment at Delhi therefore promised of the fulfilment of that great Mahratta's ultimate objects.

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Sivaji effected his escape* from the Moghul capital in a miraculous way and returned to the Deccan with a renewed and fixed determination to sap the foundations of the Moghul power. His return was but the dawn of an irresistible rising in Maharastra against the inveterate enemies of the Hindu race and the commencement of an era, of which success was the most leading characteristic. In a short time Sivaji made himself so powerful that the Moghuls began to despair of success. His prestige was so firmly established as to exceed even the sanguine expectations of his most ardent followers. The triumphant career of this illustrious Mahratta was unchecked until the great dissolver—death, quenched the extraordinary energy of the incomparable and illustrious Sivaji. Sivaji died in 1680 of a fever brought on by a swelling in his joints.

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* The story as to how he escaped is well told in the life of Sivaji recently published at Baroda.

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The Mahomedan historian, the official panegyrist of the court of Aurangzib, alludes to the comparatively premature death of the 'immortal' Sivaji in such words as become the intolerant spirit of Aurangzib's courtiers.* Of Sivaji's work we refrain from saying anything for fear of being charged with partiality in praising one, who is the idol of the Mahratta people, whether they be Mahratta Brah-

*. "Kafir Jehanum raft." "The infidel went to hell." This is the way in which the court historian speaks of the death of Sivaji. But how can justice be expected from the satellites of Aurangzib, infected as they all were by an unjustifiable hatred of the Hindus. But it is not only the Hindus, who are so contemptuously treated by uneducated Moslems in power. Even Christians receive the same sort of reception from the followers of Islam in countries where they are in power. In corroboration of this statement, we present to our readers a literal copy of the official form of burial certificate granted to the Christians of Turkey: "We (Government of Turkey) certify to the priest of the Church of Mary that the impure, putrid, stinking carcass of....., damned (*i. e.* deceased) this day, may be concealed under ground." December number of the Nineteenth Century, 1895. It is a pity that the Turkish Government wages war even with the dead, with whom there should be no rivalry and no enmity.

"De Mortis Nil Nisi Bonum."

mins or Mahrattas. We will supply the most reliable materials to our readers and leave them to draw their own conclusions as regards this subject.

In order to thoroughly understand the life and work of Sivaji, one must be able to know what the condition of the Mahratta people was before the birth of the deliverer of the Hindu race and what it became after his death. This will be best learnt from an extract from the work of Mr. Lane Poole, who cannot be charged of a partiality for the great Mahratta hero These people (the Marathas, including Brahmins as well as Marathas,) never made any mark in history before the reign of Aurangzib. They had been peaceful, frugal husbandmen like the mass of the lower orders of the Hindus and had given no trouble to their rulers. Their chief or village headmen were Sudras of the lowest of the four castes, like their people, though they pretended to trace their pedigree to the Rajputs and thus connect themselves with the noble

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caste of the Kshatriyas. In the silent times of peace, the Mahrattas enjoyed the happiness of the nation that has no history. As regards the predominant influence which they began to exercise, during and after Sivaji's reign at first over the political affairs of the Deccan and afterwards over those of the whole of India, the reader will know much from the pages that follow. War, says Mr. Lane Poole, brought out (during Sivaji's life-time) their dormant capacities and their daggers soon cut their name deep in the annals of India. In the last sentence will be found a brief but sufficiently expressive and emphatic verdict of the historian on the career of our greatest hero, whom even Aurangzib was compelled to call 'a great captain.'* The development of 'a mountain rat'† into 'a great captain'

* The reader will be much benefited by a perusal of Mr. H. A. Acworth's admirable introduction to the Mahratta Ballads and Scott-Waring's remarks on this subject.

†. Aurangzib used to contemptuously call Sivaji 'a mountain rat.'

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must, indeed, be a wonderful phenomenon and the panegyric, coming as it does from the lips of the bigoted Aurangzib must certainly be considered as the highest recognition of the noble work of the great Mahratta hero, who gave an everlasting quietus to the ignoble ambition of the undoer and upsetter of the great Akbar's fair work.

Sumbhaji succeeded Sivaji. Though a brave and spirited soldier, he was yet an indolent and dissolute youth, frequently guided by caprice. He was consequently unfit to occupy the place vacated by his illustrious father. But the national spirit and religious enthusiasm kindled and gradually developed in Maharastra long before his time, were yet alive and promised to thrive in spite of Sumbhaji's apathy and incompetency. Hence the worthless character of Sivaji's successor proved of no considerable avail to the opponents of the Mahrattas, though for some time to come the onward career of Mahratta conquest was for obvious

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reasons temporarily impeded. The people of Maharastra had been already accustomed to the task of defying the Moghul invaders. They were already inspired by the several forces, already alluded to, to entertain a universal hatred for the Moghuls, the enemies of their race, liberty, and religion.* Dhanaji Jadhav and Santaji Ghorepady, who had seen active service long before this, were the living representatives of that spirit, which was called into existence in Maharastra in the earlier part of the 17th century. Their followers were made of the same stuff. The prodigies of valour performed by Dhanaji and Santaji with the assistance of their deeply attached followers, were such as curdled the Moslem blood whenever they heard of them. What is worthy of our special notice is that the Mahrattas, after Sivaji's death, had to face not a vascillating half-hearted opposition from the emperor's luxury-seeking deputies, but a stubborn

* See Scott-Waring's remarks for a clear view. Compare Elphinstone and Grant Duff.

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warfare carried on after the year 1681 by the emperor in person at the head of his countless myrmidons. But Providence who presides over and guides the destiny of a fallen and persecuted nation, was on the side of the Mahrattas, who, notwithstanding all the troubles and disappointments yet in store for them, finally came out successful from the prolonged struggle with the Moghuls.

The Moghul operations in the Deccan were now conducted, as we have already mentioned, under the direct supervision of the emperor, whose advent in Maharastra was the precursor of a most malignant form of persecution, which served to excite still further the already exasperated Mahrattas, whose ranks were daily swollen by Hindu recruits anxious to find shelter from tyranny as well as employment under the growing power of the Mahrattas. The Zizia, which Aurangzib ought to have been wise enough not to introduce at least in Maharastra, was revived in the

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Deccan and stringent measures were adopted for the collection of the odious tax, which emphasized the distinction between the Moslem rulers and their Hindu subjects. Another imprudent order* was issued by the emperor to the effect that no Hindu, after the proclamation of the mandate, should sit in a palanquin or ride an Arab horse without previously obtaining the permission of the Mogul Government. These acts, more worthy of a madman than a ruler of an empire, were greatly instrumental in strengthening the Hindu party by effecting a closer union among them as well as in widening the breach between the rulers and the ruled. Another and a most noteworthy consequence of such an attempt to carry on reckless persecution was that the religious zeal of the Mahrattas was immensely deepened. They exerted themselves to the utmost to defend their religion and to resist the en-

*. "Life and Times of Madho Rao Scindia" published at Belgaon by the Hon'ble Mr. Natu.

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croachments of the Moghuls. Here then was an interesting spectacle of a contest between the Hindu and Moslem religious zeals, and the following pages would show that the former was destined to have the whiphand of the latter. The part which was assigned to the Mahrattas was certainly of a defensive rather than of an offensive or aggressive nature.

There were other causes, arising out of the difference between the characters and habits of the Mahrattas and the Moghuls, which, in the long run, secured victory for the side of Maharastra, which was also, to a great extent, the side of the whole Hindu population of India. The Moghul soldiery had become effiminate to a degree. Moghul Generals were as careless or useless as the sepoys who composed the grand army of Aurangzib. In a country like Maharastra, whose hills and mountain tops are studded with forts, it was an impossible task to vanquish the Marathas by one strong

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effort. Continued and unflagging exertions on the part of the Moghuls were certainly required, if the Marathas were to be curbed, but such perseverance could not be expected from an army of epicures and pleasure-seekers. Moreover Aurangzib's suspicious mind had greatly impaired whatever of ability and efficiency still characterised some of the Moghul generals. The misguided emperor had confidence in no one of his courtiers or generals. Whatever was to be done, was done by the emperor's direct sanction. Whenever he delegated his authority to some lord of his court, he was always particular about sending some other person with him to supervise his conduct. This produced a feeble action and the Marathas were far too powerful to be subdued by such a feeble resistance to their onward career. The Marathas had thus no reason to fear any considerable or permanent danger to their power from Aurangzib's generals,

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most of whom were, in fact, padded dandies. The Marathas, on the contrary, cared nothing for luxuries; hard-work and hard fare were their accustomed diet and a cake of millet sufficed them for a meal, with perhaps an onion for 'point.' They defended a fort to the last, and then defended another fort. They were pursued from place to place but were never daunted, and they filled up the intervals of sieges by harrassing the Moghul armies, stopping convoys of supplies, and laying the country waste in the path of the enemies.* This difference in the characters of the two races, that were bent in destroying each other, serves as a key to the solution of the question as to how victory ultimately graced the Mahratta exertions.

*. This account given by Mr. Lane Poole in "Aurangzib" is a paraphrase of the clear description which the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone has given in his History, pp. 657-664. According to Mr. Elphinstone a defeat to the Marathas was like a blow given to water, which offers no resistance to the stroke and retains no impression of its effect—p. 664.

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But the path of the Marathas was not yet free from the thorns and brambles that come in the form of difficulties to all men earnestly working for their emancipation from an unjust and unnatural oppression as though to test the stuff they are made of as well as to heighten the worth of the object aimed at. During the short interval of about 12 months, 1689-90, the Marathas met with disheartening reverses. Their forts fell one by one in the hands of their enemies and even their brave but misguided chief, Sumbhaji, was captured by the Moghul army and afterwards put to death with circumstances of exceptional barbarity in 1689. This atrocious deed sent round the whole Mahratta nation a thrill of horror and indignation. Instead of being discouraged or disheartened, the Mahrattas girded up their loins to face the danger with an unyielding spirit and uncommon fortitude. With an unswerving determination and unflagging zeal, they devised fresh measures for bettering

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their chances of success. In fact, the cruel death which Sumbhaji met in the Moghul camp, went a long way to bring the Mahrattas down like a thunderbolt upon the Moghuls. 'The Mahrattas became increasingly objects of dread to the demoralised Moghul army.' The forts taken by the Moghuls were gradually retaken from them and even the short-sighted emperor, surrounded as he was by his countless hosts, was looted, occasionally shut up in his own trenches, and frequently mortified by the news that his supplies were cut off by the troops of the Mahrattas that hovered in the vicinity without any fear. This was indeed a fitting recompense for the innumerable wrongs done gratuitously to the Hindus by the hard-hearted Aurangzib. The army of the Moghuls was no match for the hardy Mahratta troops that moved about with the speed of lightning and hence the Mahratta incursions could not be checked in such a manner

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as to obviate their recurrence in future. The method of warfare, which the Mahrattas adopted, is worthy of notice. 'They never risked an engagement in the open field unless their numbers made victory a certainty. When the heavy Moghul cavalry attacked them, the hardy little warriors, (mounted on wiry steeds as inured to fatigue as themselves and splendidly broken in for their tactics,) would instantly scatter in all directions and observe the enemy from a neighbouring hill or wood, ready to cut off solitary horsemen, or surprise small parties in ambush; and then, if the pursuers gave up the useless chase, in a moment the Mahrattas were upon them, hanging on their flanks, despatching stragglers, and firing at close quarters with the unwieldy mass. To fight with such people was to do battle with the air or to strike blows upon water; like wind or waves they scattered and bent before the blows, only to close in again the mo-

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ment the pressure was taken off."* Before such foes, the Moghul, at last, was compelled to bend his knee.

The scenes that the Deccan witnessed during the trying period of 17 years, following the assassination of Sumbhaji and ending with the end of Aurangzib's earthly career, are entitled to great consideration owing to their inobscurable significance† and under these circumstances some passing mention must be made of some of them at least.

After putting Sumbhaji to death and placing Shahu in custody, Aurangzib thought that he had gained the object of his mission to the Southern Provinces. Rajaram effected his escape to Jinji after these occurrences. The emperor thus found the field clear of all difficulties and every thing seemed to be favourable to the realisation of his visionary schemes.

* This description is based on the information gathered from Elphinstone, Duff, and several Mahrathi works.

† See Elphinstone's History of India, Vol. I.

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But the events that followed proved the vanity of Aurangzib's hopes and left him no other choice than that of chafing at the irresistible raids of the Mahrattas and forming fresh plans for punishing what he considered to be the unbearable audacity of the followers of the 'mountain rat,' when he was already one foot in the grave.

The 'national spirit*' kindled in the Deccan owing to the working of various forces, of which the religious revival was the most prominent one, had its roots so firmly fixed in the minds of the people of Maharastra that no amount of distress or disaster could disuade them from the path of the onward movement, which they had been led to pursue. No part of India, no Indian community had ever displayed such an undaunted spirit in resisting, to

* See Jinji was, an excellent work from the pen of Mr. Kale, describing Rajaram's danger and the devotion, spirit of self-sacrifice and other innumerable qualities of his followers. The history of this period is really heart-stirring and worthy of study by every student of Mahratta History.

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the last, the inhuman encroachments of the Moghul emperor, as was displayed by the Mahrattas even during the most troublous period lasting from 1689 to 1706. Our Hindu brethren of the Punjab, the Sikhs, were no doubt characterised to a degree by such a spirit in the days of their illustrious Gurus but the influence of the religious revival as well as of the national spirit of the Sikhs was of a limited nature inspite of the well-known valour of the Sikh people and notwithstanding some other advantages in their favour. Although the Sikhs did much to check the Moslem power, yet they were not destined to play so important a part in the extirpation of the Moghul empire, as fell to the lot of their brethren of the South, the Mahrattas. Patriotism, spirit of union, love of danger, and unbending opposition to the Moghul persecutor—these were the characteristics of the Mahrattas during the critical period, in which their king was assassinated and Shahu, the centre of their hope and affec-

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tion, was a helpless captive in Aurangzib's camp. Several causes combined together to make the chances of the Mahrattas more hopeful. Of these, the most important was the total destruction of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda in 1686 and 1687 respectively. The destruction of these two States was a great accession of strength to the Maharattas in various ways. The vanquished armies of these States found shelter under the hospitable roof of the Maharattas, and thus there was a distinct encouragement to their party. Aurangzib had been labouring under the mistaken notion that the annexation of Bijapur and Golkonda—the two Moslem States which paid tributes to the Mahrattas for purchasing the safety of their kingdoms—would facilitate the work of crushing the Mahrattas, as the chief sources of the Mahratta revenue would be destroyed with the fall of Bijapur and Golkonda. But the unfortu-

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nate emperor, whose life was doomed to be a 'colossal failure,' was as completely wrong in holding such a view, as he was in all other undertakings. Though the two Mahomedan States were, to some extent, the sources of Mahratta revenue, they were also, to a great degree, direct checks to the Mahrattas. The two States served as buffers between the two rival powers—the Mahrattas and the Moghuls. The removal of the buffer states brought the two contending powers more closely together and the degeneracy of the Moghuls began to give way before the irresistible march of the Mahratta power. The guerilla warfare of the Mahrattas was too much for the luxurious Moghul commanders. The Moghul efforts and exertions were of no avail against the Mahrattas, who became the more formidable in the hour of peril. While things were in this condition, the cause of all the troubles to the Moghuls and the root of all the persecution of the Hindu race

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was swept away by the hand of death. Aurangzib died in despair at Ahmednagar in 1707.

About this emperor, who came to the Deccan ostensibly to extend his power at the expense of the Mahrattas and the two remaining Mahomedan States, but who, to say the truth, struck the first decisive blow with his own hand at his power by such an act, it is necessary to say, en passant, a few words. It was this monarch, who, by inaugurating a religious persecution of the Hindus,† strengthened

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So low was the emperor reduced, that he was persuaded by Cambaksh to authorise overtures to the enemy. Elphinstone, p. 669. How miserable the condition of Aurangzib was and in what pitiable state his troops were may be learnt from Elphinstone's History pp. 670-71.

† My friend, Pandit—a Kashmir Brahman, told me a very pathetic story as to the way in which the Kashmir Hindus were ground down with a view to convert them to Islam after the usual persecution. He told me that excepting eleven Brahmin families, all the Brahmins in Kashmir had to forsake their religion and accept the Mahomedan faith. It is said that Aurangzib had promulgated stringent orders in Kashmir for the accomplishment of this object.

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the already awakened zeal of the Mahrattas for their religion and thereby roused them to the performance of those deeds of valour that ultimately gave a death-blow to the kingdom of Islam in India. Much has already been said as to how the Hindus were oppressed in every possible way. His greatest ambition was to crush the Mahratta power but by the unknowable yet unalterable and unfailing fiat of Providence, the Mahrattas were to be the sole instrument in the subversion of the Mahomedan empire and in avenging the wrongs done to the entire Hindu population of India during the rule of Aurangzib. His life is unanimously declared to be a complete failure, a series of political blunders that admitted of no mending or even palliation.* The Mahomedan historian, the ardent admirer of Aurangzib, was constrained to confess that 'every plan, that Aurangzib formed, came to

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*This life is published by Mr. Govardhandas Laxmidas Thakkar—A Guzerathi gentleman of Bombay.

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little good; every enterprise failed."* Aurangzib had, in fact, recklessly pitted his conscience against the world and the world had triumphed over it. In every part of India discontent and disaffection, the unavoidable consequence of imprudent and unjust persecution, reigned supreme. The Mahrattas were irresistible; the Sikhs were not less formidable; the proud Rajputs, the staunch supporters of the Moghul throne in the reign of Akbar, had formally severed their connection with the Moghul Court and asserted their independence in 1707—thus in this monarch's unhappy reign the Mahomedan empire was torn to pieces. Henceforth the Moghul emperors existed in name alone. Their power and place was taken by the force of arms as well as of intellect by the very Mahrattas, whom

* See Lane Poole's life of Aurangzib, Rulers of India Series. The author of Aurangzib's Life concludes his remarks with regard to the work of the emperor in the following words; "No curtain ever dropped on a more woeful tragedy."

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Aurangzib desired to crush but whose pensioners his descendants were doomed to be in the near future.*

Now, let us present to our readers a translation of some extracts taken from the 'Bhukan hazara,' which give a true as well as glowing account of the noble work achieved by the illustrious Sivaji. It is really a pleasure to find that even the contemporaries of Sivaji, living in such a distant part of India as Hindustan, were so thoroughly able to make an exact estimate of the achievements of the great Mahratta hero. It would not be, perhaps, too much to say that the Hindustani poet knew the worth of the Mahratta leader better than many of his own Mahratta contemporaries did, and this fact would be clearly understood by a perusal of the three verses that we have borrowed from Shri Ramdas Swami's Life.

(*a*) In this verse the great poet compares Sivaji to the Divine Shri Rama of

* From 1714 down to the actual fall of the Moghul empire they were literally at the mercy of the Mahrattas. For details see later on.

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Ayodhya, who killed Ravana and extirpated the influence of those demons, who were opposed to the Ruler of Ayodhya. Like Rama, Sivaji sprang tiger-like upon the race of the Mahomedans.

(*b*) Benares would have lost her lustre, Mathura would have been turned into a Mushid (a place fit for the Mahomedan worshippers). But for the birth of Sivaji the whole Hindu race would have been circumcised (converted to Islam).

(*c*) Sivaji saved the Vedas from destruction..... He crushed the Moghuls, confounded the emperors, pounded the enemies to dust. The might of Sivaji's sword maintained the dignity of the Princes, saved the idols in the temples from injury and allowed a free scope to the Hindu religion in every Hindu home.

These three verses have been translated for the benefit of our readers, as the original Hindustani verses are rather abstruse and so unintelligible to the Marathi speaking readers. The translation is subject to correction.

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Such is the testimony which the great poet bears to the lifework of the Mahratta hero. The Mahratta empire itself serves as the best monument of what the great Sivaji did and the bigoted Aurangzib undid during their respective lifetimes. To the writers of Mahratta histories, it must be certainly highly gratifying to see that the undying achievements of their national hero were appreciated even in the most distant parts of India by a celebrated poet, who belonged to a caste, naturally inclined to sing the deeds of valour performed by the proud dynasty of Oodeypore, so deservingly immortalised by Colonel Tod in his "Annals of Rajasthan."

The year, which followed the death of Aurangzib, was a year of the greatest weakness of the Moghuls, as their empire was threatened by dangers from within as well as from without. To escape the troubles from the Mahrattas, Zulfikar Khan, whose ability and foresight could

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gauge the prevailing feeling in the Deccan with regard to their chief—Shahu, who was yet with the Moghuls, suggested a plan, which afterwards was adopted by Azim Shah before his departure from the south. Zulfikar Khan suggested the release of Shahu from the Moghul custody. Here then there was a distinct attempt to set the Mahrattas against one another and profit by the dissensions among them and in this attempt success crowned the Moghul exertions. Henceforth, the Mahratta energy was directed towards the accomplishment of two purposes † of

* The increasing contentions of these two branches of the family of Sivaji (Kolhapore and Satara) had created such anarchy as to bring the Mahratta State to the verge of ruin, when the genius of Balaji Vishwanath placed the party of Shahu in the ascendant and rekindled the smouldering energies of the nation. It was to his energy that the rapid expansion of the Maratha power, when it had reached the limit of depression, is to be attributed, and he may justly be regarded as the second founder of its greatness.—Marshman's History of India.

† For a long time there was a feud between the house of Satara and that of Kolhapore. For details see Grant Duff, or Mahratta Bakhars.

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quelling internal dissensions and disputes and of making encroachments on the enfeebled dominion of the Moghuls. Being subjected to such two-fold pressure, the Mahratta operations slackened in their force and though Shahu was able to have his position secured through the laudable endeavours of the famous Dhunaji Jadhav and other followers, yet the Mahrattas were able to do scarcely anything that may be deemed of any great political significance, during the period that lasted from 1707 to 1714. The memorable year 1714 witnessed the rise of a saviour, under whose lead the Mahratta power revived and began again to recover its usual tone and vigour. This saviour was the illustrious Balaji Vishwanath, whose genius, even according to the European historians, placed the party of Shahu in a position of advantage and security so as to enable it to be above the assaults of either internal or external foes. Henceforth, the Mahratta power increased by leaps and bounds. The

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national spirit and religious enthusiasm, kindled in the time of Sivaji but partially suppressed in that of his successors, burst forth into a flame in the regime of the great Baji Rao and brought the Moghul empire to the verge of fall. *

Balaji Vishwanath Peshwa died in 1720 at Saswad, where he had gone to take some rest after his ceaseless exertions in the interests of the Mahratta Empire.†

See Grant Duff, p. 412-14. Bajirao's memorable speech serves as the index of his unequalled patriotism and his bitter hatred of the Moslem tyranny. Bajirao's biography was undertaken by Colonel (now Major-General) W. Tweedie, C. S. I., formerly Resident at Gwalior. When it is published many new things about this eminent Peshwa's vigorous policy would be known. General Tweedie wrote to me that he had collected materials for the said biography. The worthy General had gone to Poona and Ahmednagar for acquiring information for his book and I believe the exalted position as well as the keen desire of the General to write the work might have been the source of the acquisition of much valuable information from the Peshwa's Duftar and other inaccessible places.

† For details about this Peshwa's memorable work in the cause of the Mahratta Empire, the reader should refer to the pages of 'The Rise and growth of the Mahratta power,' by the late Mr. Justice M. G.

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Baji Rao, the eldest son of Balaji, succeeded to the Peshwaship and his first thought, after assuming the office, was to carry the Mahratta flag beyond the Narmada. It was indeed a Herculean task, when the opposition to this Peshwa's plans is taken into consideration. The Nizam was his rival and antagonist; the Pratinidhi had resolved on besetting this Peshwa's path with every conceivable obstacle; the subterranean dangers were not inconsiderable; Raja Shahu was a Prince with no sound or independent judgment; and the resources of the Mahratta Raj were not very encouraging. But Baji Rao surmounted all these difficulties † and succeeded, by his victorious

Ranade M. A., LL. B., C.I. E., who, along with the late Mr. Justice K. T. Telang M.A.,LL.B., C.I.E., took very great interest in Mahratta History. Elphinstone says ungrudgingly that "Shaho would never have recovered his superiority but for the ability of Balaji Vishwanath".

† "Such were probably the real opinions of Shreepat Rao but the wisdom of Baji Rao was of a much higher order. Baji Rao painted the condition of India, the weakness, indolence and imbecility of the Moghuls

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expeditions, in raising the Mahratta Raj to the status of an empire.* During this heroic Peshwa's regime his faithful servants Ranoji Rao Sindhia, Malhar Rao Holkar, the Pawars of Dhar and Dewas,

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and the activity, energy, enteriprise of the Mahrattas" Grant Duff. "But for the penetration and vigour of Baji Rao, the artful schemes of Nizam Ul-mulk would probably have unlinked the connecting chain by which Balaji Vishwanath had joined the interests as well as the inclinations of most of the Hindu chieftains of the Deccan."—Ibid.

"Bajirao was the first to show the path by which afterwards Mahadji Sindhia rose to greatness"—H. G. Keene.

* Baji Rao's large-hearted views and his patriotic spirit appear in their best light, when the great Peshwa proceeded towards the North to measure his strength with Nadir Shah. Grant Duff asserts that the Peshwa was not dismayed when he heard that a hundred thousand Persians were proceeding towards the south.

"The departure of the Persians was hastened by the fear of the Mahrattas then ably ruled by Baji Rao the second Peshwa"—Martin's British India.

The Peshwa was enthusiastically interested in the defence of India, when the news of the sack of Dehli by Nadir Shah reached him. It was his ambition to cross swords with the Persians. But Nadir Shah left Dehli in haste, when he heard of Baji Rao's advance to the North as far as Nasirabad.

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Govind Rao Kher and many others were raised from humble situation to high position and their services rewarded with an unstinted hand. It is impossible to do full justice to Baji Rao's life-work in the limited space of this work. Suffice it to say that he wrested large territories from the Moghuls by defeating the Nizam and other Moghul Governors in various battles. In fact, he had shaken the very foundations of Babar's Imperial throne at Dehli, where the intrepid Peshwa inflicted a defeat on the Moghul army to the consternation of the Moghul court.

Baji Rao's memorable victories in Gujrath, Malva, Bundelkhand and Dehli and his brother Chimnaji Appa's famous victory over the Portuguese at Bassein have earned a befitting mead of eulogy from Grant Duff and other historians.

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* I cannot resist the temptation of quoting here the famous verse, which Raja Chatrasal of Bundelkhand sent to Baji Rao pathetically describing the significant message from the Raja to the Peshwa:—

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After a singularly successful, active, and heroic career, Baji Rao died at Raver on the Narmada in the 45th year of his life deeply mourned by all and especially by his brother Chima Appa and his officers Ranoji Sindhia, Malhar Rao Holkar and others, whom Baji Rao had raised to dignity from humble position and for whom he bore a paternal affection. He was the

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जो गत ग्राह गजेंद्रकी, सोगत भयि है आज
बाजी जात है इंदेलनकी, राखो बाजी लाज ॥ १ ॥

Flora Annie Steel gives an interesting description of Baji Rao in her "India through the Ages:"—"Now there is no doubt that this son, by name Baji Rao, is after Shivaji, by far the ablest Mahratta of History. He was a warrior, born and bred in camps, a statesman educated ably by his father, a man frank and free, hardy beyond most, content to live on a handful of unhusked grain, vital to the finger tips. He found himself confronted by a peace party (Pratinidhi and others), who would fairly have passed to consolidate what had already been won, to supress civil discord and generally to give a firm administrative grip on the south of India before attempting further conquest on the North. But Baji Rao was clear-sighted. He saw the difficulties of this policy. To attempt the consolidation of what was still absolutely fluid would be fatal. He roused the lazy, some-what luxurious Shahoo to such enthusiasm that he swore that he would plant his victorious flag on the holy Himalaya." Page 237.

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bravest soldier and the wisest statesman of his time in India and this was frankly recognised by Nizam-Ul-mulk who was the first to pay the highest tribute to the merits of the *Great Peshwa*, on hearing of his untimely death. His ceaseless exertions in leading the expeditions in various parts of India allowed him no repose of body and mind.

In short, his was a life solely and successfully devoted to the elevation of the Mahratta Raj to the higher level of the Hindu Empire and the deliverence of the Hindus from the yoke of the Moghul Rule.

Balaji Baji Rao, well known as Nana Saheb, succeeded his father in 1740. During this Peshwa's reign, the Mahratta

* Rao Chatrakaran the hereditary Zamindar of Indore whose ancestors rendered good help to the Peshwas in the Malwa expidition, possesses some letters from Baji Rao and his brother Chima Appa.

† "Unlike in their origin and habits to the Goths and Vandals that devastated Europe, the first Mahrattas were driven to arms by oppression, and tempted to continue in the exercise of their new profession by the proved weakness of their oppressors."...Malcolm.

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power reached its zenith and the Mahratta supremacy was recognised throughout Hindustan. The glorious victory over the Moghuls at Udgir in 1760 brought additional wealth and territory and the rivals of the Mahratta power had to bend their knees before the Peshwa's predominant influence. During this Peshwa's career the Moghuls made their last attempt with the help of Nazib Khan Rohilla and Ahmad Shah Abdali to revive the drooping spirits of the Moghul power and the affair culminated in the battle of Panipat in 1761. The Panipat disaster was a temporary obstacle to the Mahratta power, which had become strong enough to withstand such a shock and to curb the enemies effectively that gave rise to troubles. The Peshwa's health was undermined by the sad disaster of Panipat and he succumbed to it in May 1761.

This Peshwa brought about a reconciliation with Raghoji Bhosla of Nagpur. He attended zealously to the civil admi-

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nistration of the extensive territories. He was courteous, kind hearted and full of diplomatic tact.

The late Peshwa's younger brother, Madhao Rao Ballal assumed the Peshwaship in 1761. The Mahratta Empire regained its tone and vigour and the Mahratta prestige was established by a series of successful expeditions in the South and North of India. The Mahratta power became more formidable in this Peshwa's regime, which was characterized by glorious victories and an uncommon regard for justice and morality. The great Peshwa, before whom Haider Ali and the Rohillas bent their knees, thoroughly wiped away the sad memory of the Panipat disaster of 1761 and his august name sent a terror into the heart of Afghanistan. The accounts of the various expeditions led by his able Generals are heart-stirring. Rohilkhand was totally subjugated and lay at the mercy of the Mahrattas. The Great

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Peshwa died at Theur in 1772 after a career as heroic as that of his grand-father Baji Rao I. He was the hope and joy of Hindustan and the protector of the weak against the strong. His regard for justice and morality is proverbial. He knew how to select the right man for the right place. Nana Fadnavis, Haripant Fadke Mahadaji Sindhia, Ahalyabai and other worthy persons owed their rise to his unwavering support in spite of Raghoba's evil resistance. This Peshwa is considered by some to be the greatest of all the Peshwas. Taking all the circumstances, however, into considearation he must stand third in history, Shivaji being the first and Baji Rao I the second.†

* This Peshwa recognised the succession of Mahadaji Shindhia and Ahalyabai to their respective Jahagirs. The strong opponents of Mahadaji and Ahalyabai were effectively silenced by the just view which the Peshwa took of their respective claims to succession. Ahalyabai ever remembered with affectionate gratitude the regard which this Peshwa and his virtuous wife Ramabai entertained for her.

† The Nizam was defeated in 1763. Haidarali was defeated in 1765. Rajputana was subdued and Rohilkhand subjugated in 1769.

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Narayan Rao succeeded to the Peshwaship by the express desire of the late Peshwa. Through the machinations of Anandi Bai and the connivance of Raghoba, this young Peshwa was assassinated by Sumersing in the Shanwar Palace in the September of 1773. This atrocious deed created such an odium for Raghoba throughout Maharashtra that he became an eyesore to all. With a noble courage and perseverance, the Ministers resolved on ousting Raghoba, the abettor of his nephew's murder, from the succession to the Peshwaship and took solemn oaths to continue the government of the Mahratta Empire in the name of Madhaorao Narayan, the posthumous son of the late

"The plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Mahratta Empire than the early demise of this excellent Prince" Grant Duff.

This Peshwa's career deserves a detailed study. In this work it is impossible to do full justice to it. His power may best be judged by the following words of the Historian of the Mahrattas :—

"The Peshwa was courted by the English and Mahomad Alli on one side and Haidar Alli of Mysore on the other". Ibid.

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Peshwa known in history as Savai Madhaorao.

Narayan Rao Peshwa's wife, Gangabai was pregnant, when he was murdered. The Regency of the Twelve, ordinarily known as " Bara Bhaiche Karasthan" carried on the administration with vigour. Savai Madhaorao was placed on the Peshwa's Musnud in 1774. The Regency consisted of the following members (1) General Haripant Fadkay (2) Sakharam Bapu, (3) Nana Phadanavis, (4) Trimbakrao Mama Pethey (5) Visaji Krishna Biniwale, (6) Mahadaji Sindhia, (7) Tukoji Holakr, (8) General Parasharam Bhau Patwardhan (9) General Panse. The success which crowned their exertions was remarkable and entitled to a place in History. Their energy, foresight and integrity of purpose extort admiration. General Sir John Malcolm says on this point as follows:—

"The celebrated Confederacy of Barrah Bhaee, or the twelve brothers, as the chiefs were designated who combined against the murderer, was joined by Mahadji Sindhia and Tukoji Holkar, which involved these leaders in a war with the British Government, whose name was, at this crisis of Mahratta history, associated with the cause of guilt and usurpation. The united chiefs proclaimed Madhao Rao, the posthemous son of Narayan Rao, Peshwa; but the real power of that high station devolved on Balaji Janardan Bhanu, commonly called Nana Faranwese, an able Brahmin who acted a prominent part in forming the combination against Raghoba. The treaty of Salbai confirmed the triumph of those by whom it had been effected."

Malcolm's Central India Page 141

The reign of Savai Madhaorao witnessed the friction between the Poona Durbar and the Hon'ble East India Company's Governor of Bombay. The affair was decided by the Convention of Wadgaon* in 1779 when Governor Hornby

* This affair is well depicted by Grant Duff in the following terms :—

"The English were obliged to purchase Sindhia's favour by a private promise to bestow on him the English share of Broach besides a sum of Rs. 41,000 in presents to his servants. The Committee were so completely humbled that they viewed with gratitude the kindness of Mahadaji Sindhia in suffering the army to depart. They were obliged to give two hostages, Mr. William G. Farmer and Lt. Stewart as a security for the performance of their engagment." These words of the Historian of the Mahrattas show how the expedition terminated.

About this time the Peshwa's Durbar received a Mission sent by Louis XVI of France with Chevaliar St. Lubin as its head. This caused much alarm in English Centres. St. Lubin had tried to win the good graces of Nana Fadnavis. The Nizam also had well—marked French proclivities. Hyderali was an open enemy of the English. The English Government received the alarming intelligence of an extensive confederacy formed against the British power in India on account of French influence. The plans of operation were also settled with the respective duties of the confederate chiefs. (a) Sindhia, Holkar and Bhosla were

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promised to give up the cause of Raghoba, the Bombay Council's original nominee. Hostilities, however, commenced again eventually success gracing the exertions of the Regency at Poona. The treaty of Salbai in May 1782 concluded the hostilities.

The success and ability, with which the celebrated confederacy of Barabhai carried on the administration and the military operations have earned due applause from all quarters. Nana Fadnavis, Mahadaji Sindhia and Tukoji Holkar; Generals Patwardhan and Phadkey played their parts creditably. Raghoba, the main cause of all the trouble had even

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to conquer Bengal; (b) The Nizam, Haider Alli and the French undertook the subjugation of Madras; The Peshwa's Government were to conquer Bombay. Warren Hastings was naturally inclined to think that peace should be effected at any cost. Goddard was defeated near Panwell and the hostilities resulted in severe distress to the Bombay army. Peace was desired by the English. The Treaty of Salbai (17 May, 1782) terminated the war between the Mahrattas and the East India Company.

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gone the length of sending his Agents to England to plead his cause through the illustrious Edmund Burke, whose keen interest in India's welfare is a historical fact. At last Raghoba was given up by the English and the triumph of the Poona Ministers was confirmed.

The outward pomp and grandeur of the Poona Durbar immensely increased in this Peshwa's career. The magnificance of the Moghal court at Dehli was transferred to the Peshwa's court at Poona by the persistent attempts of Mahadaji Sindhia,* who delighted in reviews of

* "When Sindhia became the master of Shah Alum and his capital he made the degraded emperor sign a commission appointing the Peshwa Vicegerant of the Empire.....The actual sovereign of Hindustan from the Sutlaj to Agra, the conqueror of the princes of Rajputana, the commander of an army composed of 16 Battalions of regular infantry, five hundred pieces of cannon and one hundred thousand horse, the possesser of two-thirds of Malva, and some of the finest Provinces in the Deccan, when he went to pay his respects to the young Peshwa, dismounted from his elephant at the gates of Poona, and placed himself in the Durbar below all hereditary nobles of the State.....". Malcolm, Vol. 1 Page 100.

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troops and grand Durbars. Sindhia thought that pomp and splendour were the visible symbols of power, and his insistance on investing the Peshwa with the doubtful dignity* of "Vakeel-i-Mutalik" in a splendid Durbar was nothing short of an intention to bring the imperial power from Dehli to Poona without hurting the susceptibilities of the nominal Emperor, who had been virtually a pensioner at the mercy of the Mahratta Government.

Nana and Mahadji thus continued to maintain, despite all odds, the Mahratta Empire, which was destined, at no distant date to suffer dismemberment owing to the incompetency of their successors. The great Mahadji Sindhia died in 1794 at Wanwadi near

* Nana Fadnavis was strongly opposed to the idea of acceptance of this office by the Peshwa, whose armies had destroyed the Moghul power. Nana pointed out that it was below the Peshwa's dignity. Sindhia's argument need not be discussed in detail here, as he obviously intended to stifle opposition by keeping on the show of a titular emperor while real power lay in Mahratta hands at Dehli.

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Poona and his demise was an evil omen to the Mahratta Empire.

The last attempt at assertion of independence was made by the Nizam in 1795 but he was defeated in the famous battle of Kharda on the 11th of March 1795 and compelled to yield territory and the expenses of the expedition. This was the last occasion on which all the Sardars of the Mahratta Empire assembled under the Peshwa's standard. General Parasharam Bhow Patwardhan commanded the Mahratta forces.†

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* Daolatrao Sindhia, who succeeded Mahadaji Sindhia, was utterly unfit to cope with the political situation. Daolat Rao sowed seeds of dissention by quarrelling with the Maharanees of Mahadji Sindhia. The wicked Baji Rao II, who came upon the scene at no distant date, added to the general anarchy and the Baji Rao—cum—Daolatrao regime was instrumental in ruining the Mahratta power by a series of mistakes, against which De-Boigne had warned before leaving India. Baji Rao was supported by Daolat Rao Sindhia and hence the attempts to oust Baji Rao from the Peshwaship proved of no avail, and the noble aims of Nana Phadnavis were frustrated.

† Grant Duff adds that in his time one of the great boasts of the old Mahratta Silledars was that they were present on the glorious field of Kharda.

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The young Peshwa died on 25th October 1795 on account of his fall from the terrace of the Shanwar Palace.* He was kind and considerate and his career is remarkable for the victories of his Generals and the vigorous policy of his Ministers. The schemes of Nana Fadnavis were carried out by the victorious army under Mahadaji Sindhia† and the Mahratta

The reader would be much benefitted by a perusal o the "Gleanings from the Mahratta Bakhars" by Mr. Justice K. T. Telang, who has presented a very interesting side of the social life of the Mahrattas on the field of Kharda after the battle. Mr. Telang's significant observations are worthy of a careful study, in-as-much-as they well point out the liberal views of Nana Phadnavis and the slow but steady social reform that was silently going on.

* Some believe that the Peshwa committed suicide. But the letter of Tukoji Holkar I, who was in Poona at the time of the sad occurrance, proves that the theory of suicide is not tenable. Holkar's letter is important in this connection.

(†) The part played by Mahadj Sindhia's "Invincible Brigades" under the guidance of the famous general De-Boigne deserves notice. During the Baji Rao-cum-Doulat Rao regime the Brigades were broken down by the irresistible march of the British power. De-Boigne's famous advice to Doulat Rao Sindhia was "never to excite the jealousy of the British power." De Boigne's advise had fallen on deaf ears and Doulat Rao and Baji Rao suffered the consequences.

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power and prestige were maintained intact by them till the end of their lives. This they accomplished in spite of the fact that a mighty power, the English—superior in military organization, in national spirit, education and force of character- had already begun the process of empire-building in India.

Thus fell the Mahratta Empire—founded by Shivaji, revived by Balaji Vishwanath, extended by Baji Rao and Balaji Bajirao and strengthened by Madhao Rao I—practically with the fall of the Peshwa Savai Madhao Rao.(†) Captain Grant Duff, the historian of the Mahrattas has freely

(†) The illustrious Statesman Nana Phadnavis, about whom his English contemporaries have spoken in the highest terms, died in the March of 1800 A. D. An old Mahratta Silledar laconically described Nana's life work in the words "जवतक नाना, तवतक पूना". His colossal influence in India may be judged from Major Raymond's letter to Colonel Filose in 1797, when at Surje Rao Ghatgay's instigation, Nana Phadnavis was imprisoned and sent to the Fort at Nagar (vide Appedix C). See Compton's "Military Adventurers of Hindustan" The actual fall of the Mahratta Empire took place in 1818, when the Peshwa Baji Rao II. abdicated the throne. See "Elphinstone" by J. S. Cotton, P. 87.

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acknowledged that the English conquered India from the Mahrattas, "our immediate predecessors in conquest," and not from the Mahomedans. Short-lived though the Mahratta Empire was, its claim to occupy an important place in history can never be denied or gainsaid. Its worth is to be judged by the work it was destined by the Almighty to perform and not by the length of time it lasted. It seems that the Mahratta power rose, under Providence, to eradicate the oppression of the Moghul rule and to deliver the Hindu race from the evil of Moghul tyranny and in this work(*) the Mahrattas eminently succeeded.

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* Vide Malcolm's view in this connection.

Lord Macaulay describes the Moghul Empire as "one of the most glorious and splendid in the world." The Mahratta power, that supplanted the Moghul rule, deserves far more importance than has been given to it by some writers of Indian Histories.

Mrs. F. A. Steel has done much more justice, in her work "India through the Ages" to the Mahratta power generally than those writers, who ignore its significance in spite of Grant Duff's candid assertion mentioned in the preceding pages.

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APPENDIX. A.

The following account, related by Madhao Rao, principal Jamindar of Indore (5th in descent from Rao Nandlal) to Sir John Malcolm, is interesting.

"In the reign of Mohomad Shah, when the Moghul Empire had fallen to pieces, and the power of the Dehli monarch was rapidly declining, Dia Bahadur (a Brahmin) was Soobhedar of Malva. The corruptions and abuses of power which prevailed in remnants of Dehli territories were great, and the distress arising from the total neglect of the duties incumbent upon Government fell heavily upon the peaceful husbandman and labourer of the field, who groaned under the oppression of every petty tyrant that chose to act the despot. The subordinate chiefs, or Thakoors, of Malva, impatient of the oppressions and rapacious exactions imposed upon them and their Riots by Dia Baha-

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dur or his agents, represented their grievances to the court of Dehli, and solicited redress. The reigning monarch, Mohomad Shah, however, held the reins of Government with too weak a hand, and was too much immersed in the indolent and effeminate pleasures to afford redress; and the Rajput chiefs, finding their hopes disappointed turned their eyes towards the Raja of Jaipur, Savaee Jayasing, to whom they made their appeal. Jayasing was one of the most powerful and able of those Rajas of Hindusthan who still remained obedient to the Emperor. His allegience, however, had begun to waver, in consequence, it is supposed, of an affront he had received, and a secret intercourse was established between him and the Peshwa Bajirao, the object of which was believed to be the subversion of the Mahomedan power. The Rajput Chiefs of Malva preferred their complaints to him: he recommended them to invite the Mahrattas to invade the Province, and

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subdue the Moghul authority. Rao Nandlal, Choudry, or principal officer of the District of Indore, was then a Zamindar of wealth and consequence, and had troops amounting to 2,000 horse and foot, who were paid from the Revenues he enjoyed. He had also charge of different posts which guarded the fords of the Narbada and he was on the latter account selected to treat with the Mahrattas and promote the invasion. The army of Baji Rao was encamped on the plains of Bahranpoor, and a force of about 12,000 men under Malhar Rao Holkar formed the advance. Rao Nandlal deputed a Vakeel to Malhar Rao with an invitation to enter Malva and an assurance of the Ghauts or passes being left open for his troops, and all the Zamindars aiding the invaders. The Mahrattas, in consequence, marched, and crossed the Narbada at a ford near Akbarpoor, a village near Dharampoori and Maheshwar. Dia Bahadur, having in the meantime,

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received intelligence of their approach, had moved with a force beyond Amjhara and blocked up the Ghats which led to Tandah, by which he supposed the enemy meant to ascend the table-land. The Mahrattas, however, being favoured by the Zamindars and inhabitants, were conducted up an unguarded pass, now called the Bhyrav Ghat, a few miles to the east of Mandoo; and having brought up their whole force on the plain without opposition, they afterwards encountered Dia Bahadur at a village called Tirallah, between Amjhara and Dhar, where the latter was defeated and slain, and his troops dispersed. From that period the Mahrattas obtained paramount power in Malva. The ancient Thakoors, Zamindars &c., were allowed to retain their possessions on the same terms they held them under the Moghul Government, and guaranteed from the recurrence of the oppressive exactions they had lately been suffering. The Moghul Amaldars and the Public

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officers, with their thannah or posts, were all turned out and replaced by those of the Mahrattas. Some of the Thakoors, who afterwards became refractory and neglected to pay their tributes and perform their engagements, were deprived of their possessions and power, which were assumed by their new masters, whose proceedings, however, on their first taking possession of the Province, were studiously adapted to conciliate the Hindu chiefs and inhabitants."*

(*) The Mahratta rule was not wantonly oppressive and the aim of Baji Rao I was always to redress grievance and afford relief as far as possible in those times of chaotic confusion, and national prostration. Malcolm supports this view by other evidence.

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APPENDIX. B.

THE PLAINS OF PANIPAT.

Raghunathrao, who had come to Malva at the end of 1756 on a second expedition, was entreated by Meer Shahabuddin to come to the northern Provinces to support the Meer in resisting the rising power of Najeebkhan Rohila, who, under the nominal Emperor Alamgir II, had managed to become supreme at Dehli. When the Meer was assured of obtaining aid from the Mahrattas, he set about forming ambitious schemes of securing the Vaziri (Premiership) of the Empire and driving Nujeebkhan out of Dehli. Raghoba's promise of help to the Meer was not an empty one, for before very lnog the Mahratta army under Raghoba joined the Meer's troops and thus revived his drooping spirits. The combined forces of Raghoba and the Meer advanced on Dehli and took the Imperial City

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without any considerable opposition from the party of the Meers' rival and antagonist Najeebkhan. After taking the City the combined armies laid seige to the Citadel, where the Emperor Alamgir II^d resided. The Meer was enabled to take possession of the Citadel by the powerful help of Raghoba who had encamped in the vicinity of Delhi. But Raghoba was very soon called upon to the performance of still more mighty deeds, for Adinabeig had prayed for the veteran warrior's potent aid and despatched urgent letters to him at Delhi, inviting him to the Panjab for the support of the Baig's party. This invitation from Adinabaig furnished Raghoba with a suitable opportunity for achieving the glorious conquest of Lahore and the surrounding Districts. It was on this occasion that the Maharatta flag "Shree Rámdas' Bhagwa Zenda" was hoisted in the Panjab and the Deccan horse quenched its thirst in the waters of the Indus.

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However, this conquest of the Panjab by the Mahrattas was the chief cause of the third battle of Panipat which spread a temporary gloom over Maharastra.

Meer Shahabuddin had taken Delhi and struck at the root of Nazeebkhan's power and influence through Raghoba's aid. Here was an opportunity for the Maharattas for destroying the power of Nazeebkhan, because the Meer, being an inveterate enemy of the Rohilla, wanted to take him prisoner and afterwards deprive him of his life. But Malhar Rao Holkar interposed his influence, and beseeched Raghoba to spare Najeeb's life as Holkar looked upon the Rohilla Chief as a son. Thus the inveterate foe of the Mahrattas and the most valuable ally of their antagonist Ahmed Sahah Abdali escaped the second time and the strength of the Mahomedan confederacy was immensely increased, as Najeeb represented the central power, the nucleus of all Mahomedan aspirations. Najeeb

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in fact was the prime mover of all the opposition to the Mahrattas from the local Mahomedan Chiefs.

A short account of Lahore and the surrounding Provinces from the time when they were conquered by the Afghan Chief upto that of the Raghoba's conquest cannot be out of place in this work. It is almost necessary for having a clear view of the affairs in the Panjab.

Ahmad Shah Abdali had in 1755 taken possession of the Panjab and Lahore together with the adjoining Districts. Meer Manu was left behind by the Shah as a Governor of the Province but he died soon afterwards. His son was confirmed in the Government of the Province, though he was an infant, under the tutelage of his mother. The son also died after a short time and Shahbuddin could not resist the temptation of taking the Government in his own hands. He therefore advanced to Lahore with the object of marrying Manu's daughter who had

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already been his affianced bride. Arriving at Lahore, Meer Shahabuddin made known his real intentions, took the city (by alarm) and made the widow of Manu a prisoner in her own house. Ahmad Shah Abdali flew to take revenge on the Meer, humbled him and returned to Kabul in 1756 after plundering Delhi.

Prior to his departure from the Panjab Ahmad Shah Abdali had nominated his son Timurshah as Governor of the Province, having Jahankhan for his friend, philosopher and guide. Before returning to Kabul, Abdali had also raised Najeeb-khan Rohilla to the rank of Ameer-ul-um-raha. Some antipathy had therefore naturally sprung up between Meer Shahbuddin and Najeeb-khan, the latter of whom now had naturally become a confirmed partisan of Ahmad Shah and was consequently thoroughly opposed to the party headed by Meer Shah-buddin, the protege of the Mahrattas.

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Adinabaig was a rival and antagonist of Timurshah and Jahankhan. He is described as "a man of ambitious and artful character" and the chief disturber of the peace of the Panjab. He secured the help of the Sikhs, a powerful race then springing into power and influence, but they were as yet unable to fully meet with his wishes. He therefore invited Raghoba, whose reputation as a General had already spread from one extremity of Hindusthan to the other. Raghoba embraced with alacrity the proposal of Adinabaig and proceeded by making double marches to Lahore to help Adinabaig against Timurshah and Jahankhan. Raghoba met and totally defeated the Abdali's Governor of the Punjab, speedily overran the country and entered Lahore with the pomp and circumstance of a conquerer in May 1756. The Afghan Timurshah was driven from the Panjab after a severe defeat and fled hastily accross the Indus. Adinabeig was appointed as the Peshwa's

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Subhedar of the Panjab on condition of an annual payment of 75 lakhs of rupees to the Poona Durbar. Shahji Sindhia was left behind by Raghoba to support the Sir Subhedar in any emergency that might arise. Having thus settled the affairs of the newly conquered Province, Raghoba returned to Poona with all the pride and importance of a victorious General.

Raghunath Rao, as the conqueror of the Panjab, deserves every praise from the Mahrattas for this their great and glorious conquest, which greatly augmented the reputation of Mahratta arms and increased the prestige of the Peshawa's government.

Intelligence of the humiliating defeat of his Governor of Sirhinda and of the disgraceful expulsion of his son Shah Timur from the Panjab, reached Abdali immediately after the occurrence of these events. Perhaps he might never have dreamt that the sturdy soldiers of Kanda-

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har would be made, to use Elphinstone's words, to retire beyond the Indus. At the occurrence of such a sad event his mortification must have been very great indeed. No wonder then that the Shah of the Afghans exerted himself to the utmost to retrieve his tarnished honour.

A short time after this event Ahmad Shah Abdali set out with an immense force for India. The account of the Shah's skirmishes with the petty advanced guards of the Mahrattas need not be given here. Jotiba and Duttaji Sindhia had been killed and Malhar Rao had returned towards the south. It is now necessary to see what preparations were being made at Poona to face the Afghan invasion of Hindusthan.

Accounts of the reverses in Hindusthan reached the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao in 1760. The Peshwa consulted the veteran statesmen and the generals of the Mahratta Empire. Raghunath Rao was likely to be unanimously chosen as a

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leader of the new expedition, but he had incurred a large debt amounting to about 80 lakhs of rupees while on his memorable expedition to the Panjab in 1756, and consequently public opinion was against him. It was very unfortunate for the cause of the Hindus that Raghoba was prevented from leading this expedition on the frivolous pretext of his having incurred debt in his previous expedition. Another cause for regret is that since the return of Raghoba to Poona, the military operations of the Mahrattas in Hindusthan were entrusted to the care of spirited and brave yet inexperienced and raw officers. All the veteran generals and Mahratta officers were either at Poona or engaged to the southward with the solitary exception of Malhar Rao Holkar. The brave yet raw youths like Jotiba Sindhia and others were repulsed by Ahmad Shah.

After a great many consultations, it was finally decided that Sadashiv Rao Bhao, who had gained a glorious victory

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and humbled the Nizam at Udgir in 1760, should be, in accordance with his expressed wish, invested with the honour of commanding the whole force, that set out from Poona to face the Shah's expedition. The glorious victory at Udgir had been won through the uncommonly satisfactory behaviour of the Regular army, which Bhao Saheb had called into existence. It was therefore natural that Bhao Saheb, intoxicated at his glorious success, should feel inclined to lead the Panipat expedition. The pomp and splendour of this grand expedition beggar description. It is said that the splendour and magnificence of Bhao Saheb's camp were even greater than those of the Moguls in their palmiest days.

Bhao Saheb was a very able administrator. At the same time he had a very uncontrollable temper. He had no issue and consequently he had a very great affection for the sons of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao. Bhao Saheb had been

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prejudiced against the wise Nanasaheb who had tried hard to conciliate Bhao but in vain.

Bhao, in undertaking the present expedition, had several objects in view. One of them was to be at a distance from the Peshwa's family and household at Poona, where family feuds had already sprung up. The other was to secure for himself a position of honour and independence. Bhao had the greatest affection for Vishwas Rao, and it was now his intention to place Vishwas Rao on the Imperial throne at Delhi and secure for himself (Bhao) the grand Vaziri. This was by no means a mean motive, but fortune pointed the other way.

While Bhao Saheb was marching on towards Delhi he was joined at different

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* Ramchandra Baba was the trusted servant and Counsellor of Bhao Saheb, whose views were much influenced by Ramchandra Baba (Vide Bhao Saheb's Bakhar). He was a Saraswat Brahman, devoted to Bhaosahib.

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stages, by orders of the Peshwa, by the several Sardars of the Poona Durbar, of whom Jankoji Rao Sindhia was conspicuous on account of his former services. The expedition later on was joined by Mahadji Sindhia (at that time a man of secondary importance), Yeshvant Rao Powar, Damaji Gaekwar, Samshar Bahadur, Balvant Ganesh, Vithal Shivdeva Vinchurkar, Nana Fadnis, Purandare and Ibrahimkhan Gardi, the able Commander of the Regular army. Through the exertions of Jankoji Rao Sindhia, whom Bhao Saheb treated with the greatest consideration, Soorajmal Jat was also induced to join the Mahratta standard. Thus the expedition proceeded towards Delhi, which city was reached and afterwards taken without any serious resistance from its defenders. As soon as Maharatta influence was established in the Imperial capital, Bhao Saheb, to believe Malhar Rao Holkar's account of the expedition, proclaimed Vishwas Rao as the Emperor.

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of India, temporarily appointing Naro Shankar to the office of Vazir. Bhao Saheb next broke the Imperial throne in retaliation of the injury and insult given by the Moghals to the throne of Shivaji at Raigad. The Audience Hall was deprived of its silver ceiling and all the Imperial ornaments together with all the valuable property were seized and put into the melting pot. It is however worth mentioning that no harm whatever was done to any living being at Delhi, a line of conduct well suited to a high-minded Hindu conqueror. Neither the citizens of Delhi were plundered nor its daughters polluted.

Bhao Saheb was a brave soldier of a fiery spirit. He was in the prime of his life. A glorious victory over the Nizam had moreover highly raised his reputation as a general. All these circumstances combined to create in him an unduly strong opinion about his own ability as a guider of military operations. It was this

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fact, for which it is improper either to praise or blame Bhao Saheb, which made him reject the sound advice of Surajmal Jat, who had pointed out the necessity of leaving the heavy baggage behind and of using the Mahratta horse in cutting off the enemies' supplies and in harrassing the Afghans and in exhausting their patience by carrying on guerilla warfare. These were old tactics often used by the Mahrattas with great advantage. Bhau, however, rejected these far-sighted counsels. By means of his heavy artillery and the regular infantry he had achieved equally, perhaps more, successful results at Udgir in 1760. Hence he could not be prevailed upon to approve of the bucolic sagacity of Soorajmal Jat. Moreover he had plighted his faith to the Gardi Ibrahimkhan that he would fight according to the new methods of warfare.

Before dwelling, however, on the operations on the field of Panipat it is proper to take some notice of the victory

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of the Mahrattas at Kunjapura, where Kutubshah, who had formerly cut the head of Dataji Sindhia, resided. The Abdali's garrison at this place was 15,000 strong. The Mahrattas formed themselves into three divisions and commenced the attack with great vigour. Nearly 7,000 Afghans lay dead on the battle-field. Jankoji Rao Sindhia's favorite elephant, which had been taken away by the Duranis after Dattaji's defeat and death, was now restored to its master by the orders of Bhao Saheb.

Kutub Shah's fate, after the Mahratta victory, can easily be imagined. He had cut off Dattaji's head in the most cruel manner. While Dattaji lay wounded on the battle-field, Kutubshah approached and asked him "Patel, will you fight?" The valiant Dattaji Sindhia sternly replied "if by the grace of the Almighty I live, I will fight." What Kutub then had the meanness to perpetrate is well known. The wrath of Bhao Saheb was beyond

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measure, when Kutubshah was brought before him. "Did you cut Dattaji Sindhia's head?" was the only question put by Bhao Saheb to Kutubshah. Without further delay and without listening to the noble remonstrance of Jankoji Sindhia, who evinced a great magnanimity and true Hindu forgiveness by saying "save Kutub, my Lord, and make him the instrument of some advantage to the Mahrattas. Dattaji Sindhia would not come to life again even if Kutub is beheaded," the incensed Bhao Saheb at once issued orders that Kutub Shah should be beheaded in the presence of the Mahratta army* Bhao spared the life of the son-in-law of Najebkhan who was severely tortured to show the place where the secret treasure of Najeeb was deposited.

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* The hostile troops were scatter'd
Like leaves the wind had spread,
The conquerors seiz'd on Kootub
And topp'd his tow'ring head.
Men fear'd the Deccan hero.

After raising the Abdali's fortifications at Kunjapura to the ground, the Mahrattas started for Panipat.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was very desirous of relieving the Durani garrison at Kunjpura, which was under an officer of distinction. When Abdali heard that Bhao Saheb was really on his way to the post, the former hastened his marches so as to reach there in time to assist the garrison. The river Jamna was still swollen. Ahmad Shah, however, found a ford; but before he crossed it, he had,

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And saw his frame increase;
The Abdalee heard and trembled,
And humbly begg'd for peace.
H. A. Ackworth.

For peace the weary foemen,
For peace their leader pray'd;
Two crores of coined silver
Before the Bhao were laid.
But ruin dogg'd his footsteps,
His ears were deaf to prayer;
'Slaves,' said he, 'haste to fly my war,
'Wait my approach in Kandahar,
'And bring your off'rings there.'
Ibid.

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to use Elphinstone's words, the mortification to hear that the place had been taken and the whole garrison put to the sword. Ahmad Shah was much enraged at this disgrace, inflicted almost before his eyes.

The Mahratta Regular forces were 70,000 strong. Of this regular force, fifty-five thousand were cavalry and 15,000 foot with two hundred pieces of cannon. They had a large number of camp followers and Pindharies amounting to nearly two hundred thousand souls. The Abdali's regular force consisted of 41,800 horse and 38,000 foot with 70 guns. Their irregular force probably amounted to an equal number or even more. It is thus easy to calculate that there was a decided disparity in the regular forces on the two sides, Abdali's regular infantry out-numbering that of the Mahrattas by 23,000 men. The Mahrattas had superiority in the strength of their Cavalry, which exceeded that of the Abdali by

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14,000. Unfortunately the Mahratta horse was used not more than once, and on that particular occasion, the 29th November 1760, the Mahrattas can justly be said to have won the day, as "the Afghans were broken and upwards of two thousand of them were killed." It was a lamentable mistake that the Mahrattas depended on their regular infantry which was more than outnumbered by that of the Durani Shah. It may be then said with justice that the contest between the two armies was an unequal one, the advantage being decidedly on the side of the Afghans. On the last day, the whole burden fell on the infantry; and as the regular infantry of the Mahrattas was less in number than that of the Afghans, Ahmed Shah had naturally the whip-hand of the Mahrattas.

On arriving at Panipat, the Mahrattas committed the mistake of entrenching their camp. Up to this time the Mahrattas' warfare was quite different. They fought when they found a position of ad-

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vantage ; if otherwise, they retired harrasing the enemies and intercepting their supplies. Their enormous numbers also enhanced their distress. In spite of this, the Mahrattas exerted themselves to the utmost. They made three vigorous attacks on the Durani lines. One of the most important engagements took place on 23rd December 1760, when Bhao Saheb, Mehandale, Jankooji Sindhia, Malhar Rao Holkar and others attacked Shah Walli Khan and surrounded him. Nazibkhan came to his aid but to no purpose. Najeeb was overpowered by Balvant Rao Mehendale and three thousand of his Rohilla troops were killed. In the moment of victory, Balvant Rao Mehendale was shot by a musket ball when Bhao Saheb was overwhelmed with grief at the loss of Mehendale, an officer of courage and experience Bhao thought of retiring on the fall of such a commander. Several engagements continued to take place between the armies. The Mahrat-

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tas, who were now starving owing to failure of provisions, began to tell Bhao that they were glad to fall by the sword but detested their miserable condition of starvation. Bhao acceded to their request. At length the fatal day, 7th January 1761, came when they prepared for an action. Upon the last moment, it was hoped that peace would be made but Najeeb Khan Rohilla tried his utmost to persuade Ahmed Shah not to loose the easy prey within his reach. The Mahrattas left their entrenchment an hour before the break of morning of the 7th January to win the day or to die on the field. The following plan of the battle field is taken from Bhao Saheb's "Chronicles."

The battle began with a general discharge of the cannons from both sides. Ibrahimkhan Gardi and Damaji Geakwar advanced resolutely on the Rohillas. Jankoji Rao Sindhia who defended the right side of the Mahratta army particularly distinguished himself against Najeebkhan

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and Shah Pasand Khan. Bhao Saheb and Vishwas Rao were in the centre of the Mahratta ranks and opposite to the grand Vazir Shah Vallee Khan. At about two o'clock Bhao and Vishwas Rao made a most terrible charge on the centre of the Abdali forces and repulsed the grand Vazir's troops, who began to fly in a confused manner. Shah Vallee Khan tried to bring them back by his exhortations but Bhao's charge was so unbearable that most of the Afghans gave way. Ibrahimkhan Gardi fought very well. Though wounded still he continued to engage the Rohillas, of whom nearly 8,000 lay dead or wounded. The gallant Ibrahim Khan was successful. At about one in the afternoon at the very moment when victory was on the point of gracing the Mahratta arms, the Vazir's troops made repeated onsets on the centre of the Mahratta columns, where Bhao and Vishwas Rao bravely met and repulsed the attacks. Unfortunately, however,

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Vishwas Rao,* while gallantly fighting and repulsing the Afghan attack, received a mortal wound. This mishap turned the tide of success and decided the fate of the Mahrattas. Bhao Saheb, crushed by the lamentable death of Vishwas Rao, whom he loved ardently, descended from his elephant; and riding a high mettled Arab charger plunged into the midst of the raging battle and was never seen again. Vishwas Rao, before expiring, had strongly expressed his desire that Bhao Saheb should not get down from his elephant and had even foretold the evils of such a rash attempt. But Bhao was inexhorable and unyielding. "I will either deprive Abdali of his life or give up my own" were the last words he was heard to utter, before disappearing in the confusion of

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* About Vishwas Rao the Ballads of the Mahrattas speak as follows :—

"But Vishwas Rao the hero,
Young hope of all the state,
His valour and his fortune,
Ah! how shall bard relate?"

the fight. The fatal consequence was now inevitable.

After the disappearance of Bhao and Vishwas Rao, the Mahratta army, disheartened at the loss caused by the death of their generals, began to disperse. Tukoji Sindhia, however, remained with Bhao Saheb and probably perished with him. Jankoji* Sindhia and Ibrahimkhan Gardi, both of whom were severely wounded, were amongst those that were taken pri-

* About Jankoji Rao the following lines occur in the Ballads of the Mahrattas and may impart much agreeable information as to his valour &c.

"Now mounted gallant Jankoji,
The chief of Sindhia's name,
To save Mahratta honour
With fiery speed he came;
Loudly the Bhao besought him,
And his high heart was stirred,
As pealing o'er the tumult
His leader's voice he heard."—Acworth.

Bhao Saheb had called Jankojirao for aid when Somaji Bhopkar and many other Sardars were flying from the field leaving their master to his fate. Jankoji, Ibrahim Khan Gardi and Samsher Bahadar were with Bhao Saheb till he was killed and he disappeared amidst the tumult. Grant Duff.

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soners. Nana Phadanavis, Mahadji Sindhia, Vithal Sivdeve Vinchoorkar and some others escaped the danger by a timely flight from the field. Malhar Rao Holkar with the family of Bhao Saheb retraced his steps towards Gwalior. The cruelty, which the Mahratta captives experienced at the hands of the Dhuranees, beggars description. "To the eternal disgrace of themselves and of humanity they took out the unfortunate victims and divided them in their camp. They amused themselves in cutting off their heads." These words from the pen of Grant Duff would enable the reader to form an estimate of the extent of their cruelty and barbarity. Through the kindness of Umraogeer Gosavi and his laudable exertions, the bodies of Vishwas Rao, "the king of the unbelievers," Tukoji Sindhia, Santaji Wagh and Yeshvantrao Powar, were rescued from Abdali's possession and cremated with all the required ceremonies, with the help

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of the Brahmans and the Mahrattas, who were in the Gosavi's camp. Samsher Bahadar had left the field with severe wounds He died of broken heart under the hospitable roof of Soorajmal Jat, whose kindness towards the Mahrattas at that time of their severe distress deserves especially to be gratefully acknowledged by the whole Mahratta nation.

The lamentable fate of Jankoji Rao Sindhia requires to be told with somewhat of detail. It is probable that he would have been saved. But Nazibkhan Rohilla, whose enmity to the name of Sindhia was implacable and by whose counsels Ahmad Shah Abdali was generally guided, was present on the spot and he prevailed upon the Shah to have him (Jankoji) despatched. Raja Kashipant, the Agent of Suja Uddaulla exerted himself to the utmost to spare Jankoji's life but in vain. Equally abortive were the attempts of Sujauddawlla,* who, remem-

* Shujauddaulla was the foremost in entreating Ahmad Shah Abdali to save Jankoji Sindhia.

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bering the favours conferred by Ranoji Rao Sindhia on Mansurali (Shujaudaulla's father) was anxious to see that at least Jankojirao was safe. In spite of all these intercessions, Jankoji Rao Sindhia fell a victim to the deep-rooted enmity which Nazibkhan Rohilla*bore towards Sindhias, though the Rohilla chief had been saved, only a few months ago, by Dattaji Sindhia and though he was looked upon as a son by Malhar Rao Holkar. Ibrahim Khan Gardee† was also put to the sword because he had, in Ahmad Shah's opinion, com-

* See " Strachey's Rohilla War. The Mahrattas were in fact mad with the thought of, wreaking vengeance on Najib Khan. How they disregarded all feelings of pity in their dealings with him will be best understood by a perusal of the pages of "Rohilla War" by Sir John Strachey.

† Ibrahim, before being beheaded, was brought before Ahmad Shah and asked whether he would fight again on the side of his Mahratta sovereign. The gallant Ibrahim fearlessly said that if by God's grace his life was spared, he would instantly go to the Deccan, collect an army and fight again with the Shah for the cause of his sovereign, the Peshwa of Poona, whose salt he (Ibrahim Khan) had eaten so long. The fidelity of Ibrahimkhan Gardee is entitled to praise.

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mitted the unpardonable crime of fighting on the side of "the king of Kafirs."

Thus Bhao and Vishwas Rao, together with several Sardars and Generals like Jankoji Sindhia, Yeshvantrao Powar, Tukoji Sindhia, Ganpat Rao Mehendale and others nobly sacrificed their precious lives for the sake of Maharashtra and left the whole Mahratta nation to mourn the untimely and unfortunate termination of their conspicuously promising careers. But at the same time they undoubtedly furnished a cause for the whole of Maharashtra to be proud of the heroism and patriotism displayed by them on the plains of Panipat. If they committed mistakes they atoned for them by the sacrifice of their lives.

When the news of the increasing distress and hardship of the Mahrattas, owing to the failure of provisions and other causes, reached the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, he set out from the Deccan and came along with Jankoji Bhosle as far as the

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Narmada, which they were about to cross, when the sad intelligence of the fate of Bhao and Vishwas Rao and the whole Mahratta force was brougbt to him by a Jasud, bound for the Deccan. Tender-hearted as the Peshwa was, he was over-whelmed with grief and it was feared his wits might be soon foundered. His physical strength was very soon severely undermined and the amiable and eminent Peshwa died in the month of June of 1761 at the Temple of Parvati, an interesting place in the vicinity of Poona.

The fact that the Peshwa had collected a large army for reinforcing the Mahrattas at Panipat and had advanced as far as the Narmada with Janoji Bhosle shows that they are wrong, who assert that the Mahratta power was crushed and their resources exhausted by the disaster of Panipat. Although it may seem somewhat paradoxical, it is still a fact that the Mahratta power was more formidable not before but after the battle of Panipat. It

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was in the reign of the Great Madhaorao Ballal that the Mahratta power was at its greatest height, when the Great Peshwa was, to use Capt. Grant Duff's weighty words, "courted by the English and Mohomed Ali on the one side and Haidar Ali of Mysore on the other." If the Mahrattas had been crushed at Panipat, how was it that within a very short time, Dehli, Rohilkhand and almost the whole of northern and southern India quietly submitted to the Peshwa's suzerainty ? Why was then the terror of Madhaorao's name so great that even Haidar Ali of Mysore preferred a humiliating flight to an engagement with the great Peshwa? The fact, therefore, is that neither the Mahratta Power was crushed nor their resources exhausted by the Panipat disaster. The Mahrattas seemed, says Sir John Strachey, "to have become as formidable as before the disaster of Panipat."

Why the Mahrattas with their vaunted military strength suffered at Panipat is

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a question very likely to be asked. Among the many causes that brought on the disaster, the following may be said to be of considerable importance. (a) Two of the chief causes of the disaster were (1) that Vishwas Rao was mortally wounded while after stubborn resistance, the Mahrattas were on the point of gaining a victory; and (2) that Bhao Saheb, in spite of the last wish of the gallant Vishwas Rao, descended from his elephant and mixed himself in the confusion, while he ought to have collected his men just as Ahmad Shah Abdalli did and compelled them to return and fight. At least he ought to have remained on the elephant cheering the Mahrattas who were fighting valiantly. When Bhao descended from his elephant and disappeared, his army was naturally disheartened by the absence of their General and eventually disappeared. That this view is correct will appear to be true from the following extract from an old historical work :—

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"In the wars with the Asiatics alone, we have a much greater advantage in their being so very tenacious of their old manners than in their want of bravery. Not only the prince himself but every Raja, who has a command of all the forces he can bring into the field, be they more or less, always appears among them mounted on an elephant and is at once the General and, ensign or standard of that corps, who keep their eyes constantly on him and if they lose sight of him for a moment, conclude that all is lost. Thus we find Aurangzeb gained two battles by the treachery of those, who desired his two victorious brothers to get down from their elephants, mount their horses and pursue the vanquished.

Their troops, missing them, immediately dispersed! *

* R. O. C. Cambridge's "War on the Coromandal coast." Through Principal Thomson's kindness, I was able to have an opportunity of reading this important book. This temporary union of moslem chiefs was due to the exertions of Najib Khan Rohilla, who beguiled the Mahrattas by false temptations and promises.

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That victory inclined to the Mahrattas, before Bhao Saheb's descent from his elephant on hearing of Vishwas Rao's mortal wound, can be ascertained even from the pages of Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

(b) The Mahrattas depended more on their infantry which was far inferior in numbers to that of the Shah, while they ought to have engaged the Marhatta Horse.

(c) The misery of the Mahrattas, unfortunately obstructed by an entrenched camp, was heightened by the failing provisions. Large numbers died of hunger in the Mahratta camp, while through the friendly co-operation of Sujauddoulla and Najib Khan Rohilla, the local knowledge and indefatigable activity of the latter being especially of the greatest value to the Shah, the Durani camp was in better situation, both with respect to the procuring of the provisions as well as the obtaining of the intelligence about the move-

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ments of the Mahrattas. While all the neighbouring Mussalman Chiefs "helped the Shah," the spirited Bhao had none to help him but himself and his army. Moreover, if the Shah had been deprived of the co-operation of Nizab Khan, whose activity and local influence were very great, the Shah's power would have been greatly diminished. Alas that Holkar, Dattaji Sindhia, and Govindpant Bundele should have persisted, in spite of Nana Saheb's, Jankoji Rao's, and Raghoba's timely remonstrances, in allowing Najib Khan to escape scot-free from the Mahratta camp.

(d) The number of the Shah's followers, the fighting men and the camp men and the camp followers, may be said to be nearly one lakh while that of the Marhattas nearly two lakhs, of whom more than two fifths were camp followers who served more to add to Bhao Saheb's distress than to assist the Mahratta fighting men. These were mere sightseers who had come to see "Muzza" of Hin-

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dusthan and who afterwards were butchered by the Afgans. Of the Mahratta fighting men almost all, like the immortal Spartans, fell by the sword and only a few had the disgrace to be cut off by the Afgans after the battle. Perhaps it may appear to the reader as a fable to say that more than two-fifths of the total number of the Mahrattas were mere camp followers, but it is unfortunately a fact. The Mahrattas for a long time past had been unacquainted with danger. The Mahratta arms were continually victorious and their power was really irresistible. Continued success in all the expeditions, which they had undertaken, had also induced them to think lightly of the present campaign. Their conjecture naturally was that Ahmad Shah Abdalli would probably retire. There was no doubt much of truth in this conjecture for the Shah had frequently expressed his painful thoughts of utter despair and it was considered probable that a peace would follow.

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It has been already told how un-expectedly the disaster came like a thunderbolt from the blue heavens. Finally it should be distinctly known that these helpless creatures, the innumerable sight-seers and camp followers, were butchered to death and nearly half of them perished on the field of battle, owing to the barbarous cruelties of the Afgans. But the result of the battle was also disastrous to the Afgans. Supposing however that the Duranis were fortunate enough to suffer nothing and also that they were totally victorious, the question arises as to why they desisted from availing themselves of their victory by establishing their power or at least their influence in northern India after having the good fortune of finding the field clear of their rivals and opponents, the Mahrattas? If the Duranis had obtained, as is some-times alleged by some writers, a complete victory over the Mahrattas, they ought undoubtedly to have been incited by such a glorious success

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to exert themselves for more brilliant and profitable conquests in Hindustan, for very naturally a great victory tends greatly to increase the ambition of the victors. But the Duranis did nothing of the kind after their victory over the Mahrattas. Abdali had come to India not less than four times previous to this battle. He had advanced so far as Mathura, where as usual he disgraced himself by a ruthless carnage of the innocent citizens and then returned with much plunder. Now that he was, to continue the above supposition, completely victorious at Panipat, it was, as a matter of course, expected of him that he should have attempted to extend his conquests further or consolidate his power and influence. Victory served as a stimulus to bring Alexander the Great, across the impenetrable deserts, to India. It was victory which made Baji Rao I from resolutions of planting the Mahratta flag beyond the Himalayas. In the same

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manner it was victory, which encouraged the British East India Company to undertake more ambitious plans of territorial acquisitions. Victory, then, if victory indeed it was, ought to have animated the Shah to do something like what other victors of past or present times had done. But the behaviour of the Shah seemed to be something like that of a General disheartened by obtaining a bootless advantage over his enemies at the end of the battle when his own power of availing himself of the advantage was exhausted. It is true that the majority of the fighting men on the Mahratta side fell with their swords in their hands but we have 'the strongest reasons to believe that the Shah's army did not escape so very easily as is generally believed to be the case by some writers. *

Thus the conquest of the Panjab by Raghoba led chiefly to the third battle of

(*) Vide De La Fosse's Indian History. P. 195

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Panipat. It is utterly wrong to say, as some writers do very often, that the Mahratta Empire found its grave in the Panipat disaster or that the Abdali Chief returned home without repenting for his last and ill-fated visit to Hindustan. It was the disaster of Panipat, which incited some of the greatest and most renowned statesmen and generals in the Mahratta Empire to perform prodigies of valour in crushing the Moghal power. The Mahrattas left no stone unturned in retrieving their partially tarnished prestige by the glorious reconquest of Hindustan and the subjugation of Rohilkhand. The terrible vengeance wreaked on Nazibkhan was also due to the memory of the deeds of that man in the hour of the Mahratta danger. It was the disaster at Panipat which urged the Great Madhao Rao Peshwa to discover fresh means for the extinction of the Moghal Empire in India by sending repeatedly several expeditions into Hindustan and the Carnatic. It

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was the disaster at Panipat which gave an opportunity to Raghoba to think of a second expedition in pursuit of Ahmad Shah Abdali.* Under these circumstances it cannot be said that the resources of the Mahrattas were exhausted by the calamity that befell them at Panipat.†

The Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, who distinguished himself by pursuing a wise and generous policy after the fall of the Mahratta Empire in 1818, remarks:—

(*) This account is taken from the Peshwas' Chronicles in which a very glowing and graphic description is given regarding the way in which Raghoba behaved towards Abdali. Grant Duff says nothing of this second expedition against the Durani Chief but the well-informed author of the 'Peshwas' Chronicles mentions in detail this expedition of Raghoba. On this point no further light can however be thrown until the 'Peshwas' Daftar is accessible to the Public and the several other sources of information are ransacked. The subject is worthy of study and investigation. I have given the account here in order to invite attention and discussion.

(†) Mr. H. A. Acworth, of the Bombay Civil Service and welknown for his studies in Marathi Literature and History, remarks that the Afghan losses were also immense. (Vide Mahratta Ballads).

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"Ahmad Shah Abdali returned home without attempting to profit by the victory and never afterwards took any share in the affairs of India."

A careful perusal of this sentence will clearly show that it fully expresses the Shah's disappointment. Has a victorious Monarch ever behaved in such an inconsistent way? We know on the highest and most authentic authority that the Shah was not so disgusted with the vain and empty joys of this world as to think of suddenly renouncing an active life and returning to a holy place to end his days peacefully in prayers. Why did then the Shah not take any part in the affairs of India? And why did he make such an unaccountable haste in returning without even attempting to discharge such an extremely pleasant duty as that of profitting by the victory?

Love of profit is so strong in the human breast that men attempt to obtain it even

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on such occasions when their efforts are likely to fail. This love is the strongest in the case of ambitious barbarians. It sounds odd then to say that Ahmad Shah Abdali who had come with a mighty force over a vast distance with the sole object of 'profit' hastily returned home without trying to gain it. Most surely the Shah could not have followed such a course of his own accord as to forego "a profit" within an easy reach. We conclude this long narrative by observing that the Mahratta power became even more formidable than it was in 1761 through the exertions of the Great Peshwa Madhavrao I. Since the year 1761 the victorious Duranis, however, have never been able to cross the threshold of India and disturb her peace. The firm resolve of Bhao, Vishwas Rao, Sindhia and the other Mahrattas who fell at Panipat, was to win the day or die on the field of battle.

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"If killed in battle, thou shalt secure heaven. If victorious thou shalt enjoy the earth."

Telang's Bhagavatgita.

This noble and heroic sentiment guided the Mahratta leaders at Panipat.

In this connection it would be very interesting to read an account of the 'Nazar' presented to the Peshwa Madhaorao I on the 6th February 1763 A. D. by Ahmad Shah Abdali through the Afghan Vakil Gulraj :—

श्रीराम समर्थ.

५६ अबदाली कडून पेशव्यांस नजर. इ. स. १७६३ सालच्या एका यादीमध्यें, अबदालीचा वकील गुलराज ह्याचे मार्फत, श्रीमंतराव व दादा साहेब ह्यांस पोषाख नजर आल्याचा उल्लेख आहे. ही यादी वाचण्यासारखी आहे. इ. स १७६१ मध्यें पानिपतच्या लढाईत मराठ्यांचा अपार नाश करणार अबदाली पेशव्यांस ता ६ फेब्रुवारी इ. स. १७६३ रोजी पुनः बहुमानाचीं वस्त्रें पाठवितो, ही लक्षांत घेण्यासारखी गोष्ट आहे.

[मेणवली–दप्तर.] श्री.

ब॥ अबदाली यांनीं गुलराज वकील याजबराबर पोषाक वगैरे पाठविले ते जमा मु॥सलास सितैन मया व अलफ.

जमा जामदारखाना कापड सणगें एकूण ४८५ रूपयेः-राजश्री राव यांस चंद्र २२ रजब. २५ चिरामुकसी १;५० पटका कारचोबी १;३० बालाबंदी १; ५० निमस्तनी कारचोबी १; १०० महामुदी १;२० गोषपेच १; १० काजल पेटी जरी १; २०० कुडता १;

रू. ४८५ न. ८.

कित्ताः-६२८ राजश्री दादांस. ६०० चंद्र २२ रजब. २५ चिरा मुकसी १;२० गोषपेच १;६० पटका १;३० बालाबंदी १;१५ काजल पेटी जरी १;१२५ महमदी जरी १;२०० कुडता १;१२५ कित्ता कुडता १;६००.

२८ चंद्र ५ साबान; ३ टोपी सकलादी १;२५ पटका पस्मी १; २८ २; ६२८ १०;

रू. १११३ नं. १८.

जमा रत्नशाला चंद्र २२ रजब दागिनेः २ राजश्री दादांस गुजारत भवानजी सुपेकर. १ शिरपेंच घाट मिनेगार; १ जेगा घाट मिनेगार न. २

२ राजश्री राव यांस गुजरात उदाजी वालूज खिजमतगार. १ शिरपेंच घाट मिनेगार; १ जेगा घाट मिनेगार; न. २ जमा जिराईत खाना चंद्र १९ रजब. यांनीं गुलराज वकील याज बरबरा पाठविली, ते जमा गुजारत सुलतानजी चव्हाण खिजमतगार. सुरया गोरी हिंदुस्थानी परज लाकडी मेण सांगली वाघा बोइदार नामा सुमार. १ राजश्री दादांस. १ राजश्री राव यांस-२.

इतिहास-संग्रह पान. ८४.

The articles sent as 'Nazar' by the Ameer Abdali with the Afghan Vakeel

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are detailed above. What does this Nazar, sent by Abdali in 1763, the year in which the heroic Peshwa Madhao Rao I was planning the subjugation of Hindustan, signify? This great Peshwa was, to use the weighty words of Grant Duff, "courted by the English and Mohomad Ally on the one side and Haidarali on the other" long after the battle of Panipat. We will leave it to our readers to consider the data, the evidence supplied by and relied on by eminent authors and then to form their own decision in the light of the clear and undeniable facts.

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APPENDIX. C.

After the death of the Peshwa Sawai Mahdav Rao, on the 25th October 1795, there arose again the disputed question about the Succession to the Peshwaship. The "Confederacy of the Twelve" had ousted Raghoba, whose son Baji Rao II was equally odious and unfit for the duties of the Peshwaship. Except Nana Phadnavis, all the other members of the "Confederacy" had joined the majority. Nana Phadnavis was deadly opposed to the succession of Baji Rao, whose worthless character and fickleness of disposition were well known to that great statesman. But Baji Rao had secured the aid of Daolat Rao Sindhia, a person almost possessing the same moral calibre as his nominal master Baji Rao. This was galling to Nana Phadnavis, who was compelled to make virtue of necessity. When Nana Phadnavis clearly saw that the whole might of Doulat Rao Sindhia was

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to be utilized for Baji Rao's succession to the Peshwaship, he (Nana) himself undertook to anticipate Sindhia's intentions and arranged to place Baji Rao on the Gadi. Baji Rao had no love for the great statesman, who served the Mahratta Empire for about forty years and whose noble views and unsurpassed industry and intellect were warmly admired by eminent English Statesmen and Generals. Baji Rao prevailed upon Doulat Rao Sindhia, by a promise of two crores of Rupees, to bring about the arrest and imprisonment of Nana Phadnavis. Sarge Rao Ghatgay was present on the scene and lent his pernicious aid to the plot. At Sarge Rao Ghatgay's instigation, Major Filose effected the arrest and imprisonment of Nana, who was sent to the Nagar Fort in 1797.

Major Richmond's letter to Major Filose, who ultimately disapproved of the affair, is interesting:—"I have no other interest in speaking of this but that which

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I take for every European whose reputation is dear to me, for we have not yet had an example of European officers having falsified their oaths. I perceive a considerable storm which is forming and which undoubtedly would burst to the disadvantage of Daolat Rao Scindhia. The English, the Nizamalli, Raghojee Bhosale and even Tipu Sultan would be fully sufficient to give liberty to Balaji Pandit (Nana's full name was Balaji Janardan Bhanoo)." Such was the influence of Nana Phadnavis. With Nana Phadnavis' death in 1800 A. D. departed the wisdom and moderation in the Mahratta Empire, which tottered down actually in 1818 A.D., after witnessing the wild and aimless peregrinations of Baji Rao II, (i) who had thrown

(i) It was in the Baji Rao—cum—Doulat Rao Sindhia regime that the Second Mahratta war (1803-1805) and the Third Mahratta war (1817-1818) took place. General Sir Arthur Wellesley inflicted a crushing defeat on Sindhia at Assaye (September, 1803). General Lake defeated Sindhia at Aligarh, Delhi and Laswari and Sindhia's military strength melted away.

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away to the winds the famous General Bapu Gokhale's advice. (ii) In short

(ii) General Bapu Gokhale had advised Baji Rao's keeping friendly relations with the English, whose irresistible might the Mahrattas were unable to cope with. Baji Rao insulted General Gokhale by calling him a coward, whereupon the valiant General resolved to sacrifice his noble life for the whims of his unworthy master. Admired and esteemed by the British General and soldiers, the spirited Gokhale fell fighting in the battle on the field of Ashta, while leading a terrible charge. Elphinstone and Malcolm, whose sympathy and liberal views are still remembered by many a noble family, were sorry to find that Baji Rao had hopelessly been misguided. Malcolm even went the length of remonstrating with the Peshwa for reconsidering his conduct in leaving Poona and wandering about in an aimless way. The good General, Sir John Malcolm, had even spoken to Baji Rao about ceding six annas of the territory and keeping ten annas for himself, but Baji Rao was inexorable and desired to abdicate. Malcolm and Elphinstone were prone to make, rather than unmake, kings, (vide Cotton's "Elphinstone"; "Life of Malcolm"; and Gleig's Life of the Duke of Wellington for a clear view of those times.) The Writer of these pages had the opportunity of meeting some men on the establishment of Baji Rao II, who died in 1853.

There was much of interest that could be gathered from the words of these old men.

(1) It is a remarkable coincidence that the last Peshwa, the last Rajah of Zansi and the last Nawab

Baji Rao's misatkes expedited the fall of the Mahratta Empire, which was doomed to fall after the death of Mahadji Sindhia and Nana Phadnavis.

M. W. BURWAY.

ॐ तत् सत ।

Vazier of Oudh were persons given to impious indulgence in pleasure. They lost their thrones at different periods during the last Century. See Prinsep's History of Political and Military transactions in India and Compton's Military Adventurers of Hindustan; In Colebroke's "Life of Elphinstone," the reader will find very interesting details.

"Now Wajid-Ali-Shah, the last Nawab or king of Oude, was utterly worthless. Surrounded by fiddlers, prostitutes, poetasters, eunuchs, he wasted half the revenues on these creatures, by whom he was led about, a silly imbecile, with drugged brain and diseased body." Vide General Sleeman's Journal for details.

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OPINIONS.

The book shows wonderful industry and research.

(Sd.) SHISHIR KUMAR GHOSH.

I was much interested in your book and think it is very well done.

(Sd.) A. M. T. JACKSON, M.A., I.C.S.

I think a great deal of credit is due to you for this able production.

(Sd.) N. C. MARTELLI, COLONEL.

I have read your book through and have found it interesting reading. You have consulted a wide range of authorities. A valuable addition to one of the most important epochs of Indian History.

(Sd.) D. MACKICHAN.
Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University.

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I have read with much interest the first part of the History of Gwalior. The early history of Maharashtra is clearly though necessarily succinctly told and your recital of the story of the struggle for supremacy between the Mahrattas and the Moghuls holds the attention riveted to the end.

(Sd.) L. A. FORBES.
Major.

An excellent thoughtful Essay and Study of the times.

(Sd.) Y. G. APTE, B.A., L.M. & S.

I have read with much interest your account of the rise of the Mahratta power and of the policy of Aurangzeb which resulted in making the Hindus of the Deccan combine and overthrow the Mahomedans.

(Sd.) A.D. BANNERMAN, C.I.E., C.V.O.

It gives promise of an interesting addition to history.

(Sd.) J. L. KAYE, LT. COL.

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I consider it an extremely interesting work.

(Sd.) E. A. DEBRETT, I. C. S.

I have gone through your book (Introduction to the History of the House of Scindhia) and have found it extremely interesting and full of facts. The charming style in which you have written it has given it a degree of attractiveness.

(Sd.) M. V. KIBE, M. A.
Sirdar, Rao Bahadur.

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